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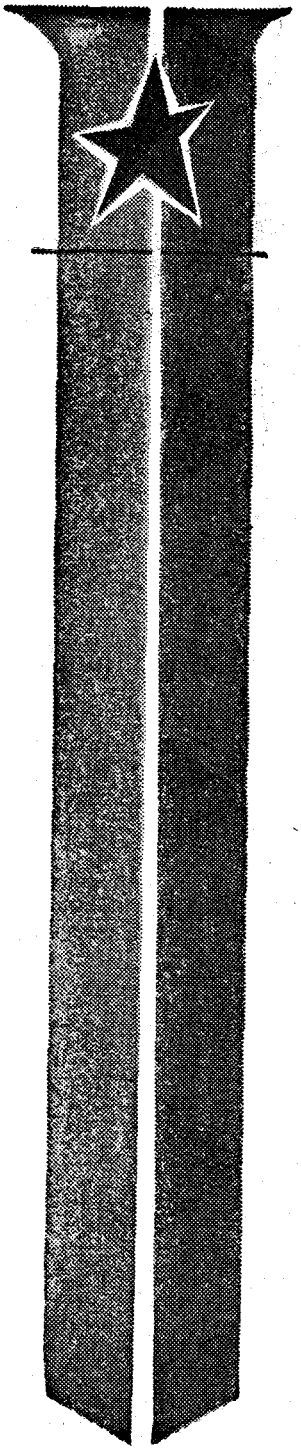

THE AFFLUENT RAILROADS

Desmond Smith

OUR QUAINT POLITICAL FOLKWAYS

Jerome Ellison

THE GLOSSY RATS

David Cort

BRAZIL
Exploitation or Aid

Andrew Gunder Frank

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LETTERS

Latin American militarism

Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs: Norman Gall recommends in his article "The Fall of Juan Bosch" (*The Nation*, Oct. 26) that the U.S. military be used to curb Latin American militarism. I know of no case of U.S. military intervention in Latin America (there were many opportunities before the Good Neighbor policy) in which Latin American republics benefited from U.S. occupation. In fact, the opposite seems always to have been the case.

Mr. Gall pictures the U.S. Marines' occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924 as a period of "relative political stability." This is in sharp contrast to the picture given by Sumner Welles in his history of the Dominican Republic, *Naboth's Vineyard*. The U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic left a well-trained, well-organized and well-disciplined police force with Trujillo in command — hardly an example of curbing Latin American militarism.

It would seem that the best way to curb Latin American militarism would be to cut off all military aid to Latin America. The people of Latin America have more to fear from their own military than from any external threat.

Peter H. Bloch

South Bend, Ind.

Dear Sirs: Norman Gall's article, aside from the sketchy analysis of Santo Domingo's political and economic history, is the worst piece of opinionated journalism I have come across in many years. Of course, American pressmen and public men, especially if they happen to be living in Puerto Rico (which in recent decades has become a haven for many "experts"), always like to engage themselves in pleasant platitudes having a remote relation to the facts. The tune and the tone are more often than not condescending and conventional.

The author is in favor of direct intervention to quiet down the anti-Americans and thus bring stability to Latin America. He sums up his thinking in the closing paragraph of his article, in which he states that "the United States desperately needs a juridical basis for rationalizing the interventions which from time to time it has carried out and must again carry out in Latin America to defend its own interests in political legitimacy and curb militarism. This might be done through internationalizing the armed forces of several democratic nations, or by regional collective security agreements among constitutional governments, or under sufficient urgency, by unilateral action. . . ."

Hardly anybody in the Western world denies the leadership role of the United States in international affairs. But apparently Mr. Gall is not aware of the fact that the United States foreign policy of direct intervention in Latin America to secure order, prevailing from 1914 to 1930, is an anachronism.

The root of the trouble in Latin America is psychological, something that is not readily understood by North American "specialists" in the area. Further, as William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, puts it, the United States' problem in Latin America "is not with the governments; it is with the workers, peasants, and students"; and I will add that nowadays, it is also with the intellectuals, from whose ranks came most of the presidents of these republics.

Armed intervention in Latin America would undo what it has taken so many years to accomplish, to wit: bringing together the nations of Latin America under the aegis of the Organization of American States to settle matters of common concern by peaceful means. It would also violate the many treaties pertaining to the area, treaties to which the United States is a party.

North American "specialists" in Latin America will render an invaluable service to the United States (and to Latin America) if they rid themselves of prejudiced notions, which they further transmit to the people, by becoming acquainted with the historical roots of the problem.

José D. Torres

Mom art?

Garrett Park, Md.

Dear Sirs: Was there a typo on page 248 of your issue of October 19 (Max Kozloff on Art), or does "overweaning romanticism" refer to the effect on the artist of early maternal deprivation?

A. Peter Ruderman

Barry would hurt

New York City

Dear Sirs: In your editorial of October 26, you reiterated your support of Senator Barry Goldwater for the Republican nomination for President. This support is based upon your belief that in this way the 1964 election would represent a significant choice for the voters. This supposition is, in my opinion, not only surprisingly naive, but dangerous as well.

First of all, the nomination of Goldwater would put Kennedy in a position which would force him to modify his views further to the Right, in the hope of attracting those who would normally vote Republican but who are opposed to the extremism of both parties. This is contradictory to the effects

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Civil Rights—Condition Poor

The politics of civil rights in the 89th Congress is surely as strange as anything Alice saw in Wonderland. The Administration bill, put together in June at a time of high racial tension and Negro militancy, provided guarantees of equal access to all public facilities operating under interstate commerce provisions. It gave the Attorney General authority to initiate legal action on behalf of individuals who complained of civil-rights violations. It outlawed job discrimination in federally supported projects. In a House Judiciary subcommittee chaired by Representative Emanuel Celler, the bill was beefed up by Celler himself and other strong protagonists of civil rights. A crucial change, although not the only one of importance, was that equal access was to be guaranteed not only to interstate-affected public facilities, but also those operating under state "authorization, permit or license," which would include "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house," etc. But at this juncture Negroes were not demonstrating forcibly, and it seemed to the Kennedy Administration that the revised bill was politically impracticable. The Attorney General took the onus of saying so. Representative Celler had to accept the view that a half-loaf was better than none. Another truism — that politics makes strange bedfellows — governed the division in the Judiciary committee. Southern opponents of *any* civil-rights legislation lined up with liberals who declined to retreat from the provisions of the strong bill. The Southerners reasoned that approval of this version by Judiciary would almost certainly kill all civil-rights legislation in the current session.

But Alice had not seen the end of the imbroglio yet. The President, worried as he has seldom been worried before, enlisted support of the Republicans to get committee passage of a compromise bill which, in the accommodations section, reverts to the June bill. Hotels, theatres, gasoline stations and restaurants would be required to give equal access; but retail stores in general would not, nor would rooming houses in which the owner lives and that offer five or fewer rooms for rent. With Republican aid (and the Republicans sharing credit) the compromise bill has a good chance of passing the House without crippling amendments.

And all, Alice might ask, to what avail? The bill is not likely to reach the Senate before December. If, in its original language, it was too weak for the liberals in the Judiciary committee, it will still be far too strong for the unreconstructed Confederates in the Senate. The chances are that they will filibuster if necessary. Moreover, Senator Dirksen, whose power in the Senate can hardly be exaggerated, is opposed even to the present wording of the public-accommodations section.

If a miracle should occur and a potent civil-rights bill should be sent to the President, it is doubtful whether it would be worth all the fuss and bother. The first fact to keep in mind is that for years there have been enough laws on the books to give the Negro equal rights — if the laws were enforced. Second, the history of the past decade shows that the resourcefulness of the Deep South in obstructing integration is almost unlimited. Third — and this is the most distressing fact of all and closely related to the preceding points — the majority of the white population, North as well as South, consists of *de facto* segregationists. Most of them would deny it, and with a clear conscience: they believe in equal rights for Negroes under the Constitution. But they want the Negro to live in some other neighborhood, they don't want to compete with him for jobs and they would like him to be more genteel in his protests.

Which all adds up to the likelihood that soon the Negroes will be found back in the streets, and with even less confidence for a redress of grievances in the courts and the Congress than they had last June. If there is a way to avoid an outcome so deplorable and so dangerous, it can only be through Presidential action as resourceful as that which got the bill through the Judiciary committee. Such ingenuity, applied to existing laws by the President and the Attorney General, might avoid the pitched battles which lie ahead.

Chance for Revaluation

In war and in diplomatic contention the worst mistake is to underestimate one's opponent, but it is nearly as bad to overestimate him. This is what we have done with the Soviet Union and Red China. We overestimated their unity which, it is now obvious, has been tenuous for five years or more. We overestimated the lunar capability of the Soviet Union, partly out of nervousness after they outstripped us in near-earth orbital space. We overestimated the nuclear capability of the Chinese Communists. For years we have been expecting them to explode a nuclear device but, like some of our own projects, the Chinese bomb has suffered a slippage from year to year. Now Marshal Chen Yi, Communist China's foreign minister, is quoted as saying that while his country intends to become a nuclear power, it will be several years before even the first test explosion occurs.

We need hardly accept as gospel either Chen Yi's declaration or Premier Khrushchev's statement that the Soviets are not racing for the moon, but both seem borne out by what we know of industrial and social conditions in the two countries, and the interaction of engineering with politics. Red China, no more than France, can afford to forgo nuclear weapons, but her actual acquisition of them is a fairly long-term affair. She has a great army and some day she may have great industrial resources, but she does not have these

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now. In the present decade she can hardly hope for what France will shortly achieve—the capacity to destroy a few enemy cities in retaliation for an attack. No nuclear capacity is to be taken lightly, but no country, China even less than several others, shows signs of being able to reach anything like the awesome overkill capacity of the United States and the formidable nuclear and rocket accouterment of the Soviet Union.

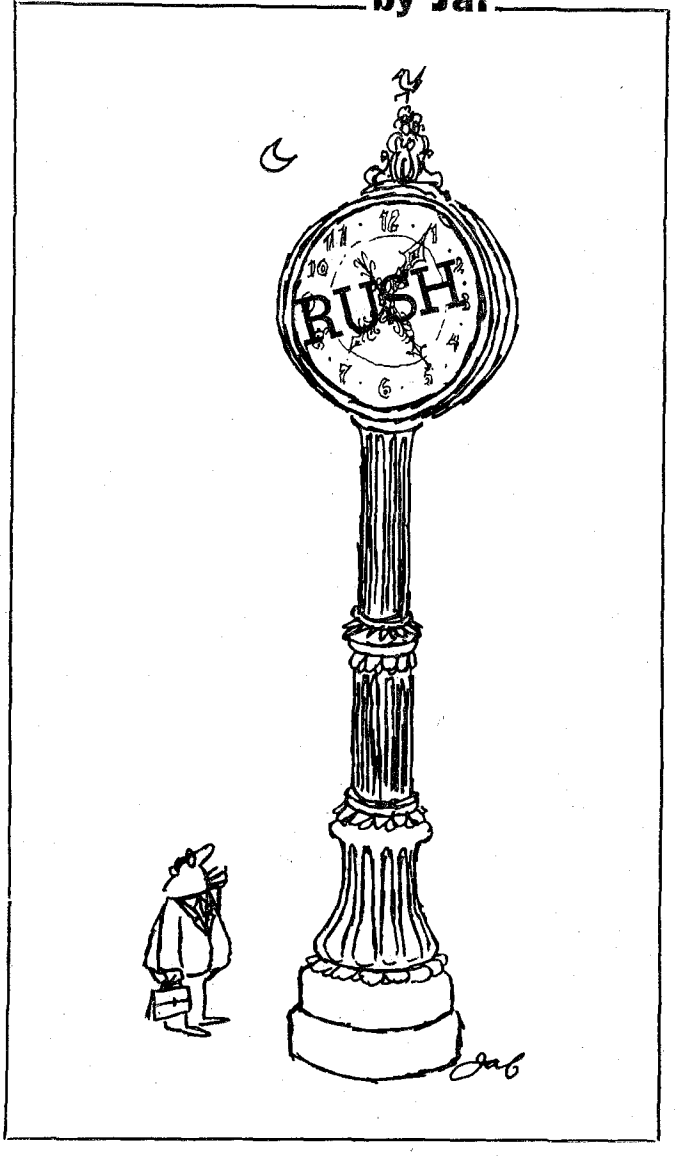
Nuclear development, military or industrial, requires large amounts of electrical power. It is not happenstance that the plants which supplied the nuclear explosives for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs were established in the TVA area. China has no TVA; she is an electrical have-not. Such a deficiency cannot be made up quickly, and the difficulties will be multiplied if the Soviet Union continues to refuse to supply turbogenerators for the Yellow River and other Chinese hydroelectric projects. Several other nations can supply such machines but, for business or political reasons, are unlikely to do so. This circumstance alone makes any quick achievement of significant nuclear power by the Chinese improbable. Her means of delivery are likely to lag in the same way.

The situation is much the same with the Soviet lunar effort. The Soviet advances in science and engineering have been remarkable, but not stupendous. (Contrary to a general impression, the czarist scientists were no slouches either.) There is still too much inefficiency in some fields, notably in agriculture, to permit the Soviets to do everything at once. These deficiencies of the opponents of American capitalism give us time to organize our own activities on a more rational basis. The decision of NASA, announced October 30, to drop plans for four preliminary manned flights in the Apollo spacecraft program, delaying the program but permitting concentration on the more powerful launching rocket ultimately needed, is but a first step. In a sense, the Communists, both Chinese and Russian, have failed our own scientific-industrial-military complex; their competition has not been vigorous enough to support its inordinate claims on our manpower and material resources. There is not the slightest chance of starvation of these interests, for the reason that, as Arthur Krock says of the NASA program, it is "the biggest public works and employment operation ever instituted in this country." All one can hope for is a slowing down of its hypertrophy; but that is possible, and voters who are not dupes and dullards should insist on it.

The Efficacy of Martyrdom

The very word has an old-fashioned sound, as if the need for sacrificing one's comfort, or even one's life, had ended with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity in the fourth century A.D. Or, when we hear of the Buddhist monks in South Vietnam immolating themselves in protest against the Ngo tyranny, we are apt to regard it as a gruesome Oriental practice, like committing harakiri on the doorstep of one's enemy. We try to attenuate horror by pushing it from us, either in time

by Jaf



or space. This is quite unrealistic. East or West, the only effective protest against injustice is to abandon the pursuit of happiness for something more important. It works in the Western world as well as in Asia. It may work even when it is practiced on a quite modest scale, as two recent cases in New York City prove.

A Jesuit priest in New York City, Rev. Morton A. Hill, began fasting at 6 P.M. on October 25 in protest against the distribution of pornographic literature to minors. He asserted that Mayor Wagner had promised in July to establish a four-point program designed to curb the traffic in obscenity, but that nothing had been done. One may have one's own views on vice crusades: the point to be noted is that the Mayor hastily pledged that every effort would be made by the city to prevent the sale of pornographic material to children, and took steps to police the alleged vendors. Father Hill was satisfied by the Mayor's statement and terminated his fast. It had lasted seventy-five hours.

Greenwich Village, the abode of artists and poets,

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is also the site of the Women's House of Detention, probably one of the most overcrowded prisons in the country. At its designed capacity of 461 it was surely not commodious, but as many as 721 women have been lodged at one time in its 7 by 6½ foot cells, with two and sometimes three women to a cell. New York City's Commissioner of Corrections, Anna M. Kross, an enlightened penologist, had been unable to do much about this outrageous overcrowding until a woman with a record of twelve prostitution arrests was sentenced to serve a one-year term on a misdemeanor narcotics charge. The defendant, Kim Parker, asked to be allowed to plead guilty to a felony charge; this would subject her to a five-year term which, however, could be served in a suburban prison.

Consternation ensued. Very likely Miss Parker really would do about anything to avoid a stay in the House of Detention, but it may be surmised that she was also intent on making a contribution to civilized penology. Mrs. Kross took the reporters through the House of Detention and the inmates staged a near-riot. Mayor Wagner ordered a speed-up in plans to replace the House of Detention with a new institution on an island in the East River. It is to cost $16.8 million. The Mayor urged that the completion date be moved up from 1968 to 1967.

Priest or prostitute, one can do something one regards as worth doing for one's fellows — but not if one's prime objective is gracious living.

The Mascot

It is difficult not to suspect that Amherst College chose to dedicate its new library as a memorial to Robert Frost in the knowledge that this gesture was likely to lure the President of the United States to the ground-breaking ceremony. If that was the strategy, it was brilliantly successful: sacrificing Sunday hours he would otherwise have spent at his new retreat on Rattlesnake Mountain, Mr. Kennedy swooped down on Amherst through lowering clouds to testify once more to Mr. Frost's character as a poet and a citizen.

The lyric tastes of our Chief Executives have traditionally run to the style of Edgar Guest or James Whitcomb Riley, and it is a refreshment to note that White House culture has taken a great leap forward. But the fly in this ointment is that our current President is not a man who goes about quoting excellent poetry; he is a man who goes about quoting Robert Frost, an excellent poet. This is such an effective way to acquire an aesthetic reputation that others should tumble to the device; we may soon be hearing Marianne Moore from the lips of Mr. Goldwater, and finding excerpts from Robert Lowell in the releases from Rockefeller headquarters. Good American poets are more plentiful than Presidential candidates (of whatever quality), so there is no reason why astute candidates for Congress or high local office should not also provide themselves with bardic mascots.

At Amherst, Mr. Kennedy spoke eloquently of Frost's moral usefulness to the nation; the irony is that this usefulness is at present threatened precisely by Mr. Kennedy's insistence upon it. His admiration for Frost is apparently genuine, but it stops short of the realization that art loses its potency when it is drafted for public duties. Poets infiltrate the human spirit; they cannot be imposed by Executive decree.

The Future of Research

While serving as Secretary of Commerce forty years ago, Herbert Hoover complained with some asperity of American industry's niggardly support of research. Trained as an engineer, Mr. Hoover understood the importance of research as a tool of industry, with profits as an end result. Today, with research and development booming, one might suppose that Mr. Hoover has been vindicated as a prophet. Not so; he is still in the wilderness. Of the total annual expenditure of $17 billion for R&D, about $15 billion is financed by the government, which was not the Hooverian conception at all. Of the $15 billion, $11 billion goes for weaponry, space and nucleonics, the last again partly weaponry. Private research for which industry digs down into its own pocket remains a minor item. In aerospace, where industry spends more than $2 billion annually, the government pays for 94 per cent. In return for its 6 per cent contribution, industry cries out against "excessive" governmental surveillance and red tape.

The preponderance of military R&D is not peculiar to the United States. In 1961-62 the British R&D expenditure was £634 million, of which £385 million was provided by the government. Of this, £246 million, or almost two-thirds, went for "defense," a further £50 million for atomic energy (including a sizable military component), £20 million for civil aviation — and a measly £6 million for medicine and public health.

How can science and technology be converted to the enhancement of life rather than its destruction? One way is for scientists and engineers, as individuals, to refuse to be harnessed to the war machine. This can only be a minor factor under the presently efficient system of mass persuasion, but for the future it should not be discounted. Even the most complacently militaristic scientists are aware of the existence of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, which now has about 1,000 members pledged to refrain from work on military projects, each deciding for himself what is military. SSRS is respectable, with a sprinkling of Nobel laureates here and abroad. At the last annual meeting the principal speaker was Dr. Alvin M. Weinberg, director of the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and winner (with Walter H. Zinn) of the $75,000 Atoms for Peace Award in 1960.

If individual conscience cannot now be expected to guide scientists into creative ways, the impending "stabilization" of the scientific-military revolution may force them in that direction. Testifying recently before a subcommittee of the House Science and Astronautics committee, Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, the Presi-

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dent's science adviser, pointed out that "defense" is becoming saturated. Since a sharp cutback in overall R&D might trigger a depression, the government may find itself compelled to spend more on mental and physical health, water and power supplies, biology, genetics, geriatrics, high voltage physics, the causes of war, etc., and less on armaments.

Wiesner noted that of the annual governmental R&D investment of $15 billion, only $1.4 billion goes for basic research, although everything in science and engineering flows from this source. His fear was that, once the impetus of Soviet superiority in space was lost, Congress might revert to its earlier ways. A possible harbinger of such a trend may be found in the recent action of the House Appropriations Committee in halving the National Science Foundation's 1964 budget request. Some of the Foundation's projects may sound silly to Congressmen but, even assuming that they are, they will certainly be more rewarding than piling up overkill capacity from here to doomsday.

THE AFFLUENT RAILROADS . . . Desmond Smith

In 1963 the railroad industry is in deep financial trouble (*Readers Digest*)—as it was in 1950 (*Business Week*); 1940 (*Time*); 1920 (*The Wall Street Journal*) and 1910 (*Saturday Evening Post*).

In all these magazines during all these years it has been possible to read of the impending bankruptcy of our national railroad system. No doubt about it, the American railroads are a basket case. Little wonder that they have been described by one jaded onlooker as "the most amazing financial-health paradox in our economy—robust on Wall Street, at death's door in the public prints and in the halls of Congress." Politicians, journalists, even financial analysts get tied in knots when they come to examine the looking-glass economics of railroading. Critics, including some major accounting firms, have severely attacked the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) for its present "do nothing" attitude toward railroad accounting practice. It is difficult for an analyst of railroad accounts to establish a railroad's degree of profitability when it is not immediately clear how general overhead is being allocated between the operating division and the subsidiaries. Another complaint (unanswered by the railroads) is that depreciation is constantly overstated. And when lease holders turn out to be subsidiaries, the critical observer will ask, is this another method of hiding income? These are some of the more obvious examples of "Chinese bookkeeping" that have been commented on by others. Sad to say, there are many more.

Desmond Smith contributes regularly to The Economist (*London*).

The railroads have created for all but the stout of heart a Sisyphean task of lifting up the grains of probability from under the weight of possibility, confusion and doubt. Still, a start has to be made somewhere.

There are some 215,000 miles of railroad lines in the United States, divided between the 105 Class 1 carriers and the 22 Class 1 Switching and Terminal companies. However, although the railroads (according to the public prints) stood eyeball to eyeball with bankruptcy last year, their top officers took no pay cuts. As a matter of fact, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission's annual report, they gave themselves a slight raise of about 8 per cent. Salaries vary a good deal, as might be expected. The president of the Union Pacific, a railway whose Net Railway Operating Income expanded 19.1 per cent last year, received $146,600 in 1962. But the president of the bankrupt New Haven Railroad had to get by with a paltry $40,000.

It is worth examining cash dividends (as a percentage of net income) for the Class 1 railroads. During the booming war years of 1941-46 the average was 35.2 per cent. By 1960 (latest figures), it had climbed to 86.5 per cent. Moreover, bankruptcies have declined tremendously since World War II. In 1940, railroads representing 31 per cent of total trackage were being operated by receivers or trustees, but by 1960 this had dropped to about 1 per cent. Additionally, by 1960 (a recession year), Class 1 railroads as a whole showed a splendid assets-to-liabilities ratio of 1.62 (compared with 0.66 in 1939). But bankrupt railroads are to railway presidents on the public-speaking circuit what burnt-out restaurants are to arson-minded restaurateurs. They elicit both sympathy and money.

By coincidence or otherwise, previously well-run railroads, notably in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions, began to run their passenger services downhill in the late fifties. In Pennsylvania, World War I coaches were brought out from dusty train sheds to give the commuter second thoughts about the joys of train travel. In Connecticut, wealthy commuters found themselves traveling in boxcars. In New Jersey, commuters refused to accept cash payments after a disgraceful campaign of harassment, initiated by a railroad, had failed to move them off the trains. Across the nation, a design of harassment was built up, planned in the short run to squeeze more money for commuter services and in the long run to drive the last traveler from the tracks to make way for the high-profit item—freight. The strategy included every discomfort imaginable, from broken plumbing and dirty depots and way stations to neglected tracks (that caused delays) and filthy passenger cars. By 1963, a pig could travel across the United States in air-conditioned comfort, but you couldn't.

Curiously enough, the public in the main took the punishment. The railroads blamed the entire mess variously upon finances, the railroad unions and the weather. Yet the railroad industry's Draconian measures produced results. The commuters put pressure on the politicians, and the politicians applied relief. New Jersey reduced state

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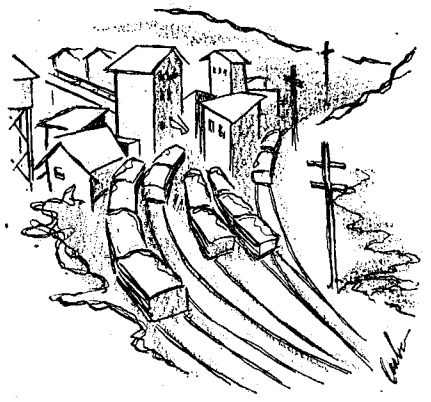
taxes on passenger facilities and made treasury contributions to the affected communities to offset commuter deficits. Philadelphia created an Authority to subsidize the commuter services operated by the Pennsylvania and the Reading Railroads. New York State, itself hard pressed for cash, took the remarkable step of persuading most of the important cities to reduce valuations on railroad properties. Thus the annual taxes payable to New York City by the New York Central were steadily reduced beginning in 1959; by 1962, this carrier paid some $7.5 million less in taxes annually than in 1959. The difference in tax payments obtained by the city was made up by the state.

But such actions as these will not satisfy the railroad companies.



"There is much surplus railroad mileage in this country today," says Stuart T. Saunders, president of the Norfolk & Western Railway, and this is especially true in the East. Of the approximately 225,000 main-line miles now in service, 23,000 miles, or less than 10 per cent, carry 50 per cent of our total freight ton miles, and at the other extreme, 67,000 miles, or about 30 per cent, carry only 2 per cent of the total freight business." As railroad presidents see the situation, they would like to shrink railroad mileage still further to concentrate on the profitable freight business. On the one hand, they claim a special relationship (with attendant privileges) to the economy, since the railroad companies are a vital part of our national defense; on the other hand, they want the right to close down unprofitable routes at their own time and choosing.

Meanwhile the railroads benefit in numerous ways from abandoning track. Savings are realized that amount to $2,500 a mile in taxes, plus $3,000 a mile in maintenance costs. Cash is generated by selling off salvaged materials (at $5,000 a mile). The land is available for real estate purposes—the Boston & Albany Railroad sold eleven miles of its roadbed and right-of-way to the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority for $8 million.

It is precisely because of the railroads' central importance to any national defense plan that such requests to reduce railway mileage can have the central place in a national transportation policy. A policy (or absence of one) that allows railroads to abandon track as they please needs closer scrutiny.

When a railway president begins an article in a national magazine with the statement that "U.S. transportation is highballing to a crisis," and when the financial editor of one of America's great newspapers begins his story, "The country's railroads are highballing toward their best earnings year since 1957," the reader is left in some confusion. The key to this semantic boggle is simple enough. What the railroad president is speaking about is Net Railway Operating Income (freight and passenger revenues), whereas the financial editor is referring to *total earnings*. This includes Other Income, an item that is almost always cheerfully black in the railroad ledger. To paraphrase Father Flanagan: There is no "railroad problem," there are only "problem railroads."

The financial picture is similar to that of American industry as a whole. There are blue-chip companies and there are others that are not doing so well. But even such celebrated examples of how not to run a railroad as the New Haven are doing exceptionally well under the Other Income heading. Last year the New Haven earned $4.3 million on rentals in the Grand Central area of New York City. In recent years, as downtown city areas have been redeveloped, property values have soared, directly benefiting on the Other Income side of the ledger those companies with poor performance in terms of Net Railway Operating Income.

Just how much this can mean can be gathered from a company such as the Chicago & Northwestern, which estimated last year that surplus real estate no longer included in its railway operations is valued at $40 million. In the western United States the railroad companies are among the biggest landowners. Northern Pacific, for example, controls more than 8 million acres of land; so does the Union Pacific. A close runner-up is the Southern Pacific with some 5.2 million acres. And even more valuable are the mineral and timber rights. The Union Pacific in 1962 showed Other Income totaling $39.26 million, which nearly matched its Net Railway Operating Income of $46.78 million. The Santa Fe's subsidiary, the Chanslor-Western Oil & Development Company, earned $10.29 million before taxes in 1962. In addition, the Santa Fe owns a controlling interest in Kirby Lumber Company, which has lumber, oil and gas interests in Louisiana and Texas.

Few people who have ever looked at railroad balance sheets objectively doubt that for many Class 1 railroads, the return on investment is high. For the ten-year period from 1951 to 1961, the Class 1 railroads had an average net-income-to-revenue of 7.19 per cent. During this same period, General Motors averaged 7.62 per cent; General Electric, 5.62 per cent and U.S. Steel, 7.34 per cent. Certainly, when compared to these bellwether corporations, it is clear that the railroad industry's financial health is sound.

Over the last half-century, the railroads haven't had a bad run for their money. Much of the strength inherent in the railroad Establishment is derived from the fact that many of the same financial interests that controlled the railroads at the turn of the century are still involved today. Now that the railroad industry has left the monopoly era it is finding the age of competition rough going. In the past, railroads set their own tariffs on the basis of "what the traffic can bear"; unlike the business competitors they were exempt from antitrust laws that prevented other industries from "price-fixing." Today, however, the railroads have to meet competition from an aggressive trucking industry, from pipe lines, from barge traffic and from the airlines. To earn the kind of profits they have become accustomed to in the second half of the twentieth century they will have to squeeze all the water thay can out of their overhead. "First and foremost," says

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Milton J. Sharp, a Pennsylvania industrialist, "the attitude of railroad management must change. Every business has competition. The difference is that the railroads complain about it instead of doing something to counteract it. They complain that their competition is unfair because of government subsidies to improve highways, airports, harbors, etc. They forget that they, too, were heavily subsidized at the outset. They received all kinds of benefits, including land at low prices."

Recently, pressed by competition, the industry has belatedly recognized that the bulk of its plant is obsolete and needs replacement. The current investment in new equipment is running at the rate of about $1 billion a year. Technology is, in turn, taking away jobs at an astounding rate. Since the end of World War II, every second railwayman has lost his job. Railroad employment in 1963 has fallen to the bottom of the depression levels. The railway workers have lost 700,000 jobs since 1945, for there is almost no job on the railroads that cannot be automated, from "crewless" trains and remote-control locomotives to electronic classification yards. Although automation has brought economic security to the few, it is bringing devastating unemployment for many. The Railroad Brotherhoods, their memberships in a militant mood, have thus brought the automation question to a showdown over the right of management to change work rules. The changes in question would eliminate 65,000 jobs—mostly those of firemen who presently ride diesel

locomotives in freight and yard service.

Obviously, to survive, the railroad industry has no alternative but to drag itself into the twentieth century. And it must modernize its antiquated plant and track. The railway unions, too, must drop mental attitudes that match the railroad managements' Cuspidor Age thinking processes. Yet, until recently the unions did not oppose mechanization, nor do they oppose automation now. What they seek is the kind of approach that has already been worked out in the steel and aluminum industries for solving the serious problems that automation brings. They contend that in the second half of the twentieth century the kind of Social Darwinism currently in favor with much of railroad management is inhumane. "We pledge the fullest cooperation to management in accepting the new technology and making it work as it should," says W. P. Kennedy, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. "We ask in return that management pledge us an equitable share in the fruits of increased productivity . . . and that it accept some of the social costs of technological displacement."

In the notorious "featherbedding" public relations campaign, railroad management gave the Brotherhoods their answer. The public was told in words and pictures that the featherbedding railwayman was the root of all the railroads' troubles. Yet—and this is the real irony—by sticking to this sham issue, the railroad industry has weakened its long-range objective, which is surely to see a strong and viable railroad system that is capable of retaining its place in the nation's transportation complex.

Meanwhile, with troubles ahead on the labor issue, the railroads are cutting away at passenger schedules, automating at a rapidly rising rate, shrinking railroad mileage, examining merger deals—and making money. In the first half of this year, net income rose to $270 million (compared with $181 million in the 1962 period). In part this favorable position was due to new liberalized depreciation guide lines and a 7 per cent investment credit allowed late last year. It came just in time, for the special Korean War tax credits were running out. In a way the public ought to be sorry over the Internal Revenue Department's action, for it might have been fun to watch the railroad industry's awesome public relations battalions go to work on that assignment.

Showdown on Reapportionment . . . Will Maslow

The United States Supreme Court has on its docket no less than nine cases arising in six different states (Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware, New York, Virginia) challenging the apportionment of state legislatures and the districting of Congressional seats. The Court was to hear arguments on them during the week of November 12. Although appeals in some of these cases were filed as early as September, 1962, the Court deliberately let almost nine months pass before it announced which appeals it would allow. It followed a similar strategy in 1952 when, after some delay, it agreed to hear five school-segregation cases from four states and the District of Columbia, presenting a variety of problems. The advantages of such a strategy are that the Court can consider various aspects of the problem of reapportionment and also have the benefit of the soul-searching of many lower courts, not merely one.

Since the order issued by the Supreme Court last June granting review in eight cases, new appeals have been filed, and others are on their way, in reapportionment litigation arising in Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma and Washington. The only new issue is that of a Federal District Court in

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the state of Washington, requiring elections-at-large for members of both houses. It is the first such order issued since *Baker* v. *Carr*, and came down only after the state legislature was unable to agree upon a reapportionment plan which the court had required in an earlier decision.

It will be recalled that the Supreme Court's decision in *Baker* v. *Carr* (the Tennessee reapportionment case) merely held that "invidious discrimination" in the apportionment of state legislature seats constituted a violation of the "Equal Protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and that federal courts had jurisdiction to enjoin such discrimination. But, like other landmark decisions, it raised more questions than it answered. The courts of the country thus found themselves without guide lines when there developed an unprecedented wave of apportionment litigation — eighty cases arising in forty-one different states. Not unexpectedly, the lower courts disagreed. Conflicts among them must now be resolved.

Three main questions (and a host of subsidiary ones) must now be decided by the Supreme Court. Perhaps the most momentous is the validity of the so-called "Little Federal Plan." Must both houses of a state legislature be apportioned on the basis of population? Or may states, following the example of the federal government, apportion one house on other than population standards — for example, can they allot seats to counties regardless of population or deliberately enhance the representation of rural areas?

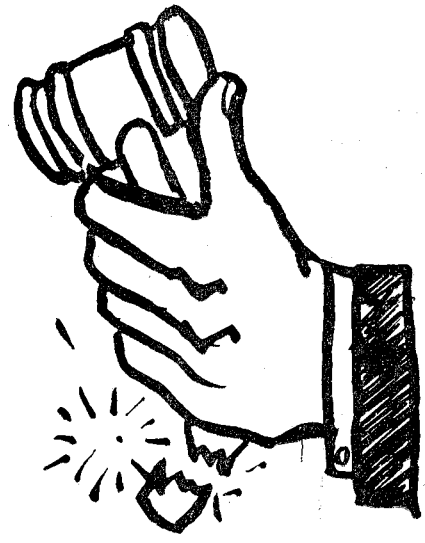
The Maryland Supreme Court, by a 4 to 3 vote, upheld the allotment of one seat in the Maryland Senate to each of the state's counties, although the most populated county in the state contained 32 times as many people as the least populated area and 14 per cent of the state's population could elect a majority of the Senate. On the other hand, a three-judge Federal District Court in Virginia rejected the federal analogy and found the state Senate to be malapportioned. Similarly, a Federal District Court in Alabama found invalid a proposed amendment to the state constitution that would have allotted one Senate place to each county. Pointing out that existing discrimination would have become worse under the new plan and that Senators elected by 20 per cent of the population could block any legislation, the District Court declared that the analogy with the United States Senate "cannot survive the most superficial examination," since a county is a creature of the state possessing only those powers conferred upon it by the state.

At stake are state Senate apportionments throughout the country. In twenty-one states, the disparity between the most-populated and least-populated Senate district exceeds 10 to 1, and in twelve states, less than one-fourth of the population can elect a majority of the state Senate.

The second great task of the U.S. Supreme Court is to clarify the meaning of "invidious discrimination." What variances are allowed from a strict population standard even in one house before the apportionment becomes constitutionally unfair? The issue is presented squarely in the New York case, *WMCA* v. *Simon*, to be reviewed by the Supreme Court. There, a Federal District Court had upheld New York's complex apportionment formula which allowed a disparity of 2 to 1 in Senate districts and 15 to 1 in Assembly districts, and which gave control of the Assembly to 34.7 per cent, and of the state Senate to 41.8 per cent of the population. The federal court rejected strict population standards, upholding New York's formula on the basis of its "rationality," its historic origin and the opportunity voters have of deciding every twenty years whether to convene a state constitutional convention. The federal court relied heavily upon a 1948 dictum of the Supreme Court that the Fourteenth Amendment does not "deny a state the power to assure a proper diffusion of political initiative as between the thinly populated counties and those having concentrated masses, in view of the fact that the latter have practical opportunities for exerting their political weight at the polls not available to the former."

In Virginia, the Federal District Court took a different tack. It held that population, while "predominant," was not the "sole or definitive measure" of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court ruled, however, that where the plaintiff has proved malaportionment on the basis of population, the burden of justifying such disproportions passes to officials of the defending state. Such a procedural ruling considerably lightens the task of those challenging grossly unequal legislative districts.

The Supreme Court is not likely to devise a mathematical formula by which constitutional inequality can be determined. Absolute equality of legislative districts is impossible, if for no other reason than that constant shifts of population



occur. It may follow Solicitor General Cox's view that at least one house of a state legislature should be apportioned strictly on a population basis and that in the other house, apportionment may take into account historic, political and geographical subdivisions, "provided that the departure from equal representation in proportion to the population is not too extreme." Less likely is the acceptance of the Michigan Supreme Court's holding that whenever apportionment results in some districts having more than double the population of others, "the range of discretion is violated." Judging by past experience, a definition of what constitutes "invidious discrimination" is likely to result from a process of exclusion and inclusion, each case helping to fix the boundary line of what is constitutionally permissible.

The third great issue is whether federal courts have the authority to correct gross inequalities in Congressional districting. The apportionment of seats in the House of

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Representatives among the fifty states is done automatically each decade in accordance with census figures. (But each state is entitled to at least one representative, regardless of population.) Each state legislature is then free to draw its own Congressional district lines, dividing its allotment as it sees fit. As a result, Congressional districts vary enormously in population — in Michigan, from 177,000 to 802,000; in Texas, from 216,000 to 951,000. Eighty districts are now more than 15 per cent larger in population, and ninety districts more than 15 per cent smaller, than the state-wide numerical average for a Congressional district.

From 1862 to 1929, a federal statute required Congressional districts to contain "as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." (From 1901 on, these districts were also required to be "compact" and "contiguous.") However, the 1930 Federal Apportionment Act failed to repeat this triple standard of equality, compactness and contiguity, and in 1932 the Supreme Court held that Congress had thereby intended to repeal these requirements. In the Georgia case, *Wesberry* v. *Vandiver*, which the Supreme Court will hear in December, a Federal District Court had dismissed a challenge to Georgia's Congressional districts, which range in population from 272,000 to 833,000. The court action was taken to allow the Georgia legislature and/or the U.S. Congress a reasonable time (unspecified) to correct the obvious inequalities.

A Florida state-court decision (not before the United States Supreme Court) gave shorter shrift to a suit challenging that state's Congressional district lines. It simply held that such districting was a "political question" and that *Baker* v. *Carr* did not apply to Congressional seats. To date, not one court, federal or state, has sustained a challenge to Congressional district lines.

Therefore, the issue before the Supreme Court is whether the theoretical possibilities of corrective legislation by Congress are sufficient to immunize Congressional districting from judicial supervision.

The last issue before the Supreme Court, arising in the challenge to New York's 17th "silk stocking" Congressional District, is a charge of gerrymandering, the manipulation of boundary lines to effectuate a partisan result. It is not enough to have districts approximately equal in population if district lines can be drawn like jigsaw puzzles to exclude or include blocs of voters. In *Wright* v. *Rockefeller*, a Federal District Court, by a 2 to 1 vote, held that the plaintiffs had failed to prove that the boundaries of the 17th Congressional District had been juggled to exclude Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The population of the 17th consisted of 5.17 per cent Negroes and Puerto Ricans, contrasted with the nearby Harlem district which had 86.3 per cent Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The issue was complicated by the intervention of Adam Clayton Powell and other Negro and Puerto Rican Democratic district leaders, who saw in the litigation a plot to disperse Negroes and Puerto Ricans among the four Congressional districts in Manhattan and thus diminish their political influence.

During the sixteen hours allotted for the argument of the eight cases in December, the Supreme Court will ponder not only its decision in each case but, more significantly, its role in the entire problem of apportionment. Ideally, the democratic process would be most strengthened and the most durable results achieved if popular movements in the various states themselves compelled reapportionment of state legislatures. But always in the background to goad recalcitrant legislatures must be the threat of quick and effective judicial intervention. These pressures are most effective if they come from the lower courts. The Supreme Court must, therefore, avoid its colossal errors in the school-segregation litigations and encourage the lower federal and the state courts to intervene in apportionment controversies whenever the democratic process is blocked or unduly delayed. To do so, it must now lay down guide lines to correct misconceptions of these courts and be ever ready to correct their mistakes. Above all, it must affirm as a democratic principle of the twentieth century that the Fourteenth Amendment stands as a bulwark to protect voters against any contrivance that would deny them their fair representation in the legislative process.

SIR ALEC TAKES OVER . . . . Norman Birnbaum

The Conservatives, someone observed during the battle for Macmillan's succession, have ceased to be gentlemen but have not become democrats. The discretion and circumspection with which the British elite usually conducts its affairs has indeed been missing for the past fortnight. Lord Home became Prime Minister after a semi-public process which combined the rancor of a family quarrel with the arrogance of a court intrigue. At first glance, he owes his success to his appearance of ineradicable mediocrity. The race, in Great Britain, often goes to the contender who evokes no strong negative responses. The Tories, in rejecting the three more talented and experienced contenders (Butler, Hailsham and Maudling) in favor of the least promising one, were behaving in accordance with prevailing standards of selection elsewhere in British life. However, since the result of the next General Election may be determined by their decision, we ought to examine it more closely. It is not, upon a second look, without a certain political logic.

Macmillan's own role in the succession was enormous. His hospitalization, on the eve of the party's annual conference, threw the party into disarray. He allowed the struggle to dominate the conference and then took charge of the selection from his hospital bed. Nothing as vulgar as an election among Con-

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servative parliamentarians or local parties took place. Rather, soundings were taken and the party left the final decision, in effect, to Macmillan. When he finally resigned, he advised the Queen to name Home even though he knew that many of his colleagues were outraged at his choice and that parliamentary Conservative opinion had settled upon Butler. Home is to a large extent Macmillan's creature; it was he who raised him from comparative obscurity to Foreign Secretary. My own view is that Macmillan took advantage of the situation to impose his own choice upon his party. But why?

At the moment the Conservatives are an uneasy coalition of a number of elements. There is a traditional Right — chauvinistic, immersed in imperial nostalgia, deflationist, quite unreconciled to Britain's changed position in the world and the new aspirations of much of its population. Lord Hailsham, who some months ago volunteered to lead a revolt of the "squares," was the choice of this faction, which is especially strong in the local parties. There are also "new Tories" who favor economic expansion and the modernization of the more obviously decrepit parts of Britain's economic and social structure; they entertain no illusions about Britain's imperial mission. These Conservatives had two candidates in the field, Butler and Maudling; they were inept enough not to agree on one. Macmillan, by and large, had been a patron of this group. It should not be supposed that his decision to drop them was motivated simply by the pleasure of a Scots crofter's grandson in bestowing office upon the fourteenth heir to an ancient earldom.

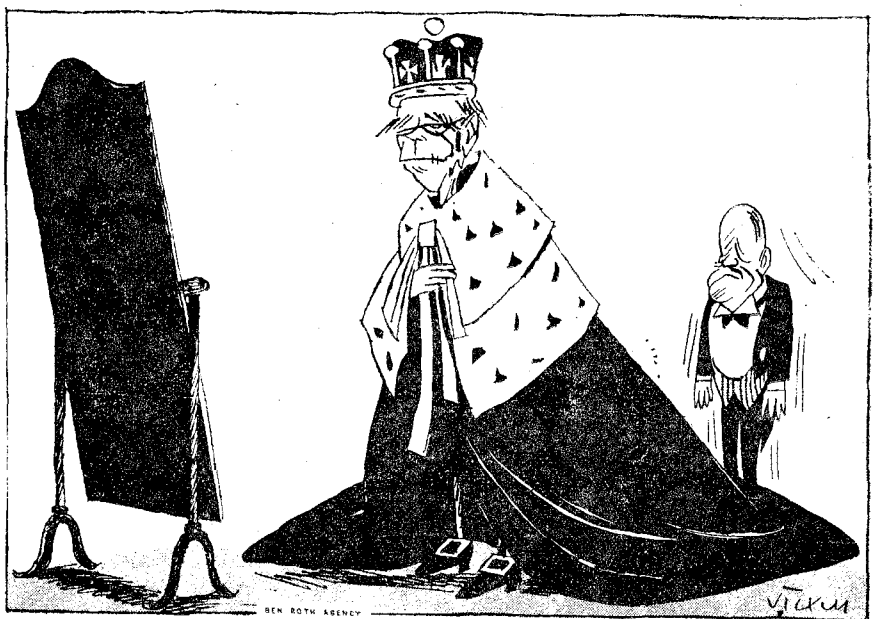
With an election coming, the new Tory leader had to be someone who could mobilize the energies of the local parties. Hailsham would have done this, but his flamboyance irritated his immediate colleagues and his ideological self-righteousness seemed almost certain to drive floating voters away. Maudling would have been a very good counter to Wilson, but a Prime Minister no older than John Kennedy seemed too young for many Tories. More important, Maudling had against him all those in the local parties who live in a world other than this one; did he not warn the party conference that government expenditure was likely to increase? Butler had much parliamentary support, but precisely because he is the father of new Toryism, he had many enemies. The same people resented in Butler his ambivalent attitude to the Suez adventure and his obvious disbelief in the view that the Conservatives were not just a political party but something like the one true Church. The resultant deadlock made possible the choice of Home.

The prevailing opinion is that Home will prove an easy target for Labour. His views on foreign affairs are refreshingly candid. He defended the Munich agreements, as recently as last year, on the grounds that they might have helped to enlist Nazi Germany as an ally against Communist Russia. He has accused the new nations of using the UN to gang up, most unfairly, on Britain and the others who were trying to aid their friends in Africa (in this case, Katanga). He thinks that an independent British deterrent gives Britain great-power status. As for home affairs, he did say a while ago that he could not conceive of himself as Prime Minister because of his inexperience in economic matters. His accession to office caused Ian MacLeod and Enoch Powell, two of the most capable of the newer Tories, to retire in protest from Ministerial posts to the back benches. Indeed, had it not been for the remarkable magnanimity of Butler — who was very shabbily treated indeed — Home would not have formed a government at all. The somewhat sordid manner of his success, the fact that he is the first Prime Minister to come from the House of Lords since 1902, and his obvious remoteness from whole areas of modern British society are obviously going to help neither Home nor his party.

There are aspects of the affair, however, that are more problematical for the opposition. Home's very air of patronizing detachment may reassure that portion of the electorate which is anxious about change in Britain. Patricians, further, are bred to act as if they control events even when, in fact, they do not quite understand what is happening. Home's understanding may be defective, but his poise is considerable. Moreover, it is not entirely certain that he is as mediocre as he looks; for the moment, he can at least be compared favorably with Dwight Eisenhower.

There can be no doubt that his appointment is a regressive phenomenon. It marks a triumph, the more striking for being so unexpected, for the most backward elements in the Conservative Party. It seems to confirm the persistent influence of an aristocratic group which seems out of date in an advanced industrial nation. Modern politics are conspicuous for regressive phenomena of this sort, most of them ambiguous.

The frenzy of post-bourgeois so-



"Now, I'll take off my coronet to give the party that new, modern, progressive image!"

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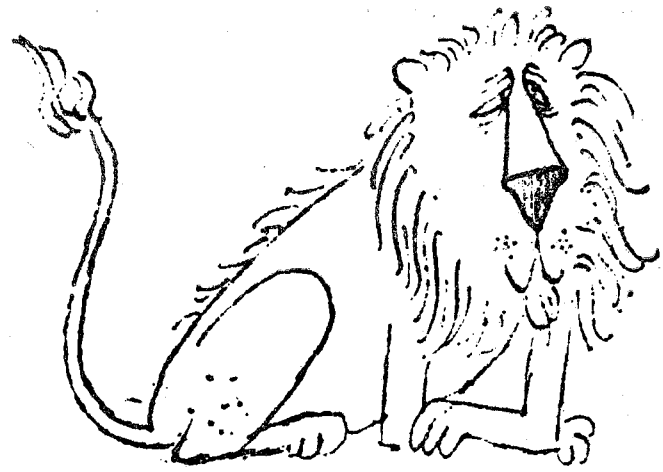
ciety induces in millions a chronic state of political bewilderment to which these paternal, nay grandpaternal, figures minister. Their compulsive repetition of clichés, their resolutely anti-experimental bearing, provide some of the relief sought by those for whom the larger society is inexplicable and threatening. The new British Prime Minister will undoubtedly supply his countrymen with a new set of homilies.

The new men in the Tory party, meanwhile, have not all deserted him. Maudling remains Chancellor of the Exchequer and the very able Heath has taken over commercial affairs and regional development. They constitute a curious combination: a representative of Britain's past linked with the men of a future not quite yet born. The new alignment guarantees the support of the local Tory parties (for whom Home, as an earl and a real patriot, is almost too good to be true). The new Tories, who want a neo-capitalist and not a neo-Socialist Britain, have in any case nowhere else to go: the Liberals will gain votes, perhaps, but hardly parliamentary seats. Butler, in charge of foreign affairs, will doubtless apply his professorial intelligence to limiting the practical damage that could follow from Home's own lack of sympathy with the changes that have occurred since his days at Eton. Anyhow, lack of sympathy (as the case of de Gaulle has shown) does not necessarily entail a lack of grasp; Home is not an Arizona Senator but comes from an old elite, accustomed to rule.



Ben Roth Agency

It is mistaken, therefore, to suppose that Home's triumph practically guarantees a Labour victory at the next election. British politics have been tending away from cabinet government to a form of presidential rule. Macmillan has gone, and with him will expire some of the public discontent with recent Tory failures. Home's relative obscurity is, in this case, an advantage; he is free to develop a new style and a new appeal. Indeed, he has already promised the British people "good plain talk" — a political equivalent, presumably, for good plain cooking. The new Tories will in the meantime push economic expansion; a boom is already in the making. The Tories have intimated, too, that they are now enthusiastic about educational investment. A new period of prosperity, and the appearance of a national educational reform, could conceivably reduce the effectiveness of Labour's critique of a decade of Tory rule. Home may, if his younger colleagues deliver the goods, promise the electorate the advantages of the new society without any of its rigors. That the promise is very likely to prove deceptive, eventually, may not diminish its immediate impact. At any rate, the Opposition still has a long road to travel before it can win the election.

Brazil

EXPLOITATION OR AID. . . Andrew Gunder Frank

Brasilia, D.F.

Does American aid and investment contribute much or little to, or even hinder, Latin American economic development? The recent argument between the Brazilian and American Embassies on this question with respect to Brazil invites analysis and comment. The Brazilian viewpoint, expressed by its Embassy in Washington (in charge of Roberto Campos de Oliveira) is that American aid is small and not altruistic. The American answer, delivered by U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon in a lecture before the National Economic Council of Brazil is that in exporting capital the United States incurs great sacrifice and contributes significantly to the economic development of Brazil.

Unfortunately, if subjected to nondiplomatic analysis, the reality of the economic relations of the United States and Brazil, or any other Latin American country whose name could easily be substituted, appears much less pleasant than either Ambassador suggests. In the following, I summarize the arguments of the two Ambassadors on each of the topics discussed, appending my own comment.

1. Amount of Capital Transferred

Brazil: The real amount of resources the United States offers Brazil is smaller than generally imagined because it should be measured in funds transferred rather than in those committed and because from the gross the return flow of amortization and interest payments must be deducted.

United States: The American Ambassador does not understand why the Brazilian Embassy lends importance to the distinction between authorizations and disbursements, since the United States keeps its

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promises and thus makes the gap between the two only a matter of time. It is confusing and bad economics to deduct the amortization and interest payments from gross transfers because it deprecates the American capital's contribution to the construction of steel mills, hydroelectric plants, etc., while it is in Brazil. Moreover, American capital improves the Brazilian balance of payments. Measuring this way, it would appear that the flow of capital is not from the United States to Brazil, but rather from Brazil to the United States.

Comment: In reality, the net contribution of United States capital to Brazil is neither large nor small, but negative. The Brazilian Embassy's distinction between commitment and disbursement is easy to understand if one considers that, of the promises made at Punta del Este, some funds were canceled by the U.S. Congress and Executive, others are disbursed by private firms not bound by government agreement, and all of them are contingent on Brazilian compliance with United States demands about expropriation, International Monetary Fund financial policy, etc. For the balance of payments and the exchange rate, not promises, but transfers are significant.

The "appearance" that, if amortization and interest are counted, the outflow of capital is really from Brazil to the United States instead of vice versa unfortunately reflects reality quite accurately. Official Brazilian figures for the years 1947-1960 indicate an inflow of $1,814 million in new investment and loans and an outflow of $2,459 million in remittance of profits and interest. Adding an estimated $1,022 million of "services," largely representing clandestine remittances, total outflow becomes $3,481 million, or nearly twice the inflow, and the net outflow $1,667 million.

This outflow from Brazil is by no means a historical accident or a result only of Brazilian calculations. An ECLA study shows that in no decade of the past century has the total flow of goods and services out of Brazil been smaller than the flow into Brazil. Turning to Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico) generally, U.S. Department of Commerce figures for the period 1950-1961 show net new private U.S. investment as $2,962 million and remittances of profit and interest thereon of $6,875 million, or well more than double the amount, for a net withdrawal of $3,910 million. U.S. aid and loans of $3,384 million and repayments and interest thereon of $1,554 million (to date, with more of course to come in the future), still leave a net capital movement to the United States of $2,081 million.

But in these calculations the flow *to* Brazil, such as of surplus food, is measured in often inflated, so-called market prices that the U.S. seller sets himself, while the flow *from* Brazil is measured in dollars actually bought by Brazil. Additionally, these data do not include most of the Brazilian and other national private capital, currently often estimated at $10 billion for Latin America, which is transferred abroad (such as to the famous Swiss and New York banks). The real effective drainage of capital from Brazil and the other capital-poor countries is thus even larger than appears from the above official figures. It is difficult to see how the American Ambassador imagines this constant American drain of funds from Brazil to be helping Brazil's balance of payments. It is, instead, a principal source of the balance-of-payments deficits.

To speak of American capital, public or private, going into the development of basic heavy industry in Brazil is more than misleading. Under the Alliance for Progress, especially, the emphasis of American public capital investment in Latin America is on education and health — latrine-building, as it has been aptly dubbed. U.S. private capital, as the daily experience of anyone can attest, prefers the export, processing and service industries — Coca-colonization, in a word. Far from contributing to Brazil's industrialization, this investment, no less than more traditional investment in raw-materials extraction, serves to keep the economy underdeveloped. Indeed, it deforms the economy into one ever less able to develop by increasingly absorbing Brazilian capital and misdirecting it. Often, an initial sum of capital brought from the United States by an American firm is supplemented, or even multiplied, by borrowing Brazilian capital from local U.S. banks with Brazilian deposits, or from Brazilian banks, or even from the Brazilian Government. The combined capital is then invested not where it will best serve the interests of Brazil's development, but of the

"Shall we dance?" Toronto Star

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American firm's development. The earnings that are not shipped home are then reinvested in Brazil, often not by building new productive facilities, but by buying up or buying into existing Brazilian installations and thus transferring their direction into American hands also.

Now, the Brazilian "expropriation" proposal offers American investors government aid in withdrawing their capital from less profitable public utilities and transferring "a minimum of 80 per cent" into much more profitable industries. Thus, American capital, with financial and technical advantages due to its international connections and with additional special privileges granted by the Brazilian Government "to attract foreign capital," progressively denationalizes Brazilian industry, misdirects Brazilian investment, integrates the weaker Brazilian economy increasingly with the stronger American one on which it thus becomes dependent, and thereby adds further to Brazil's balance-of-payments difficulties.

2. Degree of U.S. Sacrifice

Brazil: American aid to Brazil between 1940 and 1962 has meant little or no sacrifice to the United States. Half the total comes from the Export-Import Bank, which consistently makes profits. Another 35 per cent represents the supply of agricultural surpluses under Public Law 480. American aid was tied to the purchase of American goods and was part of a program to develop foreign markets for goods that were in surplus at home and could thus contribute to the utilization of excess capacity in the export industry.

United States: The manner of financing is unimportant. Had American funds not been used in this way, they could have been put to some other use. Tying American aid to the purchase of American goods is natural and does not reduce the value of the aid, since useful aid must reflect itself ultimately in the transfer of real goods. In general, since the marginal capital-output ratio in the United States is higher than in Brazil, the investment of American capital in Brazil instead of at home really represents a considerable loss to the American economy. The excess-capacity argument could carry some weight only if the American economy had been chronically depressed since the war, which has not been the case.

Comment: American aid and investment are no sacrifice, but an instrument for obtaining considerable Brazilian riches and for preserving the present monopolist structure of the American economy. The capital-output ratio is quite irrelevant to the issue. American firms do not invest in Brazil in a sector with the average of the latter's marginal capital-output ratio, and they do not draw their investment funds from such a sector of the American economy. Much more relevant to the firms are their profits in Brazil and their excess capacity at home. An American business commission in Brazil observed that "profits in Brazil are normally much higher than in the United States. It is not uncommon that a factory pays for itself in one or two years," — that is, makes a profit of 100 per cent or 50 per cent per year. These rates, however, refer only to profit on total capital invested. Since part of that total represents capital borrowed from Brazilian sources at low cost, and another part reinvestment of such earnings in the years following the original introduction of capital, it is similarly not uncommon that the real rate of earnings on American capital in Brazil is in the thousands of per cent per annum.

Turning to the U.S. economy, unemployment has not fallen below 5 per cent in several years and the minimum rate keeps rising. The excess installed capital capacity of these same large export firms is several times that percentage, whatever the average marginal capital-output ratio may be for the economy as a whole. For them, export and foreign earnings are a necessity, not a sacrifice. And as the Alliance for Progress makes so eminently clear — consider, for instance, the public statement by three of its official spokesmen, including David Rockefeller, that the Alliance should improve conditions for American investment in Latin America — the purpose of U.S. Government aid is to pave the way for the economic activity of this same private U.S. capital.

Just as U.S. Government purchase of surplus agricultural products and their subsequent shipment abroad as "food for peace" supports the increasing monopolization and therewith excess capacity of U.S. agriculture, government "aid" money provides the credits for foreign purchase of increasingly monopolized U.S. industry. At the same time, the strings attached to the money are designed to maintain or improve the political and economic climate abroad for this same U.S. economic activity. That also explains the tying of loans to purchases of U.S. goods. For real goods could be transferred through multilateral trade, if the U.S. Government did not wish to avoid helping Brazil to trade more with Western Europe — let alone with the Socialist countries. And the development of U.S. balance-of-payment difficulties only increases these same American needs.

3. Gains and Losses from Trade

Brazil: The terms of trade have been turning to the disadvantage of Brazil. Between 1955 and 1961, the prices paid for Brazilian products have fallen considerably, and the prices of American exports have risen. The result has been a loss to Brazil greater than the total of all aid since World War II.

United States: The argument of the Brazilian Embassy about the terms of trade is mistaken. In less professional circles, these price changes are described as a "process of exploitation" by the industrialized countries, especially the United States. Had the Brazilian Embassy chosen 1947-1949, instead of the high-price 1950-53 base, it would have come to the opposite conclusion. In each decade since 1920 the terms of trade were worse for Brazil, and only in the decade 1950s were they better, than at present. One might equally well talk of "presents" made to Brazil in the twelve years since 1950. The majority of serious students are highly skeptical of long-term generalizations about tendencies inherent in the terms of trade. Regarding the question, "Are coffee prices today too low?", simply as economists we would have to answer, "No." The idea that the industrialized nations in a certain sense "owe" the nations who export primary commodities a certain level of terms of trade seems neither reasonable nor desirable. There is no conspiracy to deteriorate the terms of trade. On the contrary, competition to sell is greater than ever.

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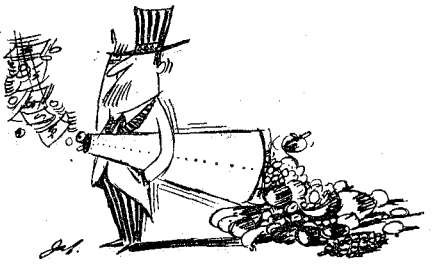
Comment: Brazil and other poorer countries are falling increasingly behind the already industrialized ones. The economic relations between the two, taken as a whole, are quite evidently a contributing, if not the crucial, factor in this loss by the underdeveloped, raw-materials exporters. The countries which were able to avoid or break this relation have also been able to avoid this loss. If in the 1930s and 1940s the terms of trade were less favorable to Brazil, this was in good part due to the depression and the war and because Latin America generally acceded to American pleas to keep raw-materials prices lower than they might have been as their contribution to the war effort. The higher prices in the years 1950-1953 were, of course, due to the Korean War, during which this same American ideological argument carried less weight abroad; and since that time these prices have indeed fallen again. It seems difficult, thus, to accept the thesis that the prices of the 1950s constituted a gift to Brazil.

Instead, serious economists *can* demonstrate that the terms of trade, as part of the economic relationship taken as a whole, are too low, even at their highest, to prevent the exploitation and permit the development of Brazil and other poorer countries. Thus, the idea that the developed countries owe something to the underdeveloped ones seems quite reasonable and desirable unless one still wishes to advance the argument that "the hidden hand" regulates economic relationships. This is an argument long used to hide the fact that the general standard of living in Brazil, and in almost all other poor countries, was *higher before* they became entangled in the relationship of "trade," "aid" and especially of "foreign investment" than it is today. Moreover, not competition, but monopoly and cartels protected by suprastates such as the European Common Market, NATO, the petroleum industry, etc., and of course rising prices, are the trend in the industrialized world today. And these arrangements most certainly are conspiratorial and prejudicial to the underdeveloped world.

4. Effects of U.S. Capital in Brazil

Brazil: U.S. aid money has been well used by Brazil. The rate of the growth of income per capita has been one of the highest in Latin America for the decade 1950-1961. There is no better index of adequate use of foreign aid than the achievement of a high growth rate. More than 90 per cent of imports have been accounted for by essential raw materials, basic foodstuffs and equipment and parts.

United States: The substantial contribution of U.S. public and private capital to Brazilian economic growth in general, and especially to desirable structural change toward manufacturing, import substitution and increased export capacity, refutes the clichés about the "process of exploitation."



Comment: Both Ambassadors misdirect their analysis and exaggerate the effects of U.S. aid, which in reality retarded Brazilian economic growth. Evaluating the use of American aid, as does the Brazilian Embassy, by reference to the Brazilian growth rate is unacceptable. As the Brazilian note points out, recent per capita growth in most Latin American countries has been largely zero or negative, while in Brazil it has been 3 per cent for the period since World War II and 3.9 per cent since 1957. However, as the Minister for Planning, Celso Furtado, points out, the most important economic development in Brazil occurred during the 1930s when, due to the depression, American export of capital and goods reached its lowest point and Brazil changed over from importing all of its capital equipment to producing it at home. And during this crucial take-off into economic development, the per capita rate of growth registered was 0.3 per cent. Thus, the significant index of good use of foreign and domestic resources for Brazil is not, as the Brazilian Ambassador suggests, the growth rate as much as it is the creation of a national productive capacity, especially in heavy industry, and initially for the domestic market. To this process, American aid and investment decidedly does not contribute.

It is perhaps his use of an incorrect criterion which permits the Brazilian Ambassador to go on to make his strange claim that the "aid" resulted in the import of goods important for Brazil's economic development. For a country of continental proportions with every conceivable raw material, and perhaps the greatest agricultural potential on this globe, it seems indeed a strange argument to claim that Brazil is putting its resources to good use when it imports "essential" raw materials and "basic" foodstuffs, instead of importing equipment and technology which would permit it to develop that potential. Much of the "equipment and parts," to say nothing of the remaining 10 per cent of imports, should undoubtedly have also been produced nationally.

Even disregarding the negative consequences of foreign aid and investment, their contribution to total investment in Brazil is, contrary to the American Ambassador's claim, minuscule and easily forgone. According to a Brazilian estimate for the years 1950-1954, all foreign (including American) investment amounted to 1.32 per cent of Brazilian Gross National Product, or 8.2 per cent of total investment in Brazil. For the period 1955-1959, a Brazilian estimate of the share of foreign investment is 2 per cent of gross and 2.8 per cent of net investment. But, as we saw earlier, large parts of even this small "contribution" of foreign capital are no contribution at all, since much of this capital was Brazilian to begin with and is foreign only in ownership, control and earnings. It is evident, therefore, that Brazil could easily find national capital that would more than substitute for so small a foreign addition to her total investment, and dispense at the same time with the damages inflicted by foreign investment on its economic development.

The American Ambassador's assertion that U.S. capital has contributed to desirable structural change in the Brazilian economy is even less founded in reality. Rather, American capital has contributed to the already much too great concentration of capital in Sao Paulo to the prejudice of the

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other regions, especially of the Northeast. Similarly, capital has flown into the export, processing and service industries to the disadvantage of basic industries and Brazil. Tariff exclusion of relatively inessential products has drawn national, but proportionally especially foreign, capital into the production of these same relatively inessential, but protected, products. The American Ambassador's "import substitution" is therefore at best a two-edged sword. But even this substitution of specific imports does not necessarily contribute to the reduction of imports as a whole. On the contrary, if this investment goes into certain kinds of processing, it makes "essential"—as the Brazilian Ambassador observes in another context — the import of more raw materials. If it helps to shift the distribution of income to groups with higher propensities to import, it increases imports as a whole. As for increasing export capacity, to which the American Ambassador also refers, Brazilian capacity to export non-raw materials remains notoriously low. And using scarce resources to increase Brazil's capacity to export *raw materials* is certainly a most questionable policy.

5. Economic Policy for Brazil

United States: The serious problem for Brazil is the expansion of export earnings. Since Brazil cannot hope to regain the predominant position in the coffee, cacao, and sugar markets already lost to new producers, Brazil should follow the example of Japan which, when faced with declining earnings from textile exports, expanded into shipbuilding and electronics. Following a similar policy, Brazil could expand its exports of iron ore, meat and manufactured products. And in order not to cut itself off from technological progress and thereby from economic progress, Brazil should continue to invite foreign investment.

Comment: Brazil's urgent need at this time is not still more outward-directed, but rather inward-directed, economic development. Far from emphasis on exports, as the American Ambassador suggests, this requires regional and sectoral economic integration and additional basic industry for national needs. Least of all does it imply or permit using the resources urgently needed for that national task to expand two lines of raw-material exports — *iron ore and meat — to serve the* needs of the already industrialized countries.

It is difficult to see how the American Ambassador draws the lesson he does for Brazil from the example of Japan. Japan expanded into shipbuilding and electronics, but Brazil is to expand into iron ore and meat. Moreover, Japan is at a quite different stage of economic development than Brazil. The export market Japan was losing was in textiles, not in coffee. How did that country achieve this degree of industrialization and development? Not by pursuing the policy the American Ambassador prescribes for Brazil, but by doing precisely the opposite. In fact, Japan is the crucial example among the capitalist economies, as the Soviet Union is among the Socialist, which, in order to achieve the take-off into economic development in a world of already industrialized and imperialist countries, began by isolating itself substantially from foreign trade and totally from foreign investment and control. Neither country found it necessary, let it be noted, to permit such foreign investment in order to take advantage of the technology of the industrially more advanced countries. Only *after* they had forged an economic structure and their own control thereof, which permitted them to take advantage of more intimate economic ties with already advanced countries, did Japan and the Soviet Union enter into such relations. Thus, Japan indeed does provide the example most relevant to Brazil's present economic organization; but the national stance it points to is one of independence, not one of dependence. Let it be noted, however, that on this road Japan also became an imperialist power itself, with all that implies.

Conclusion

The two Ambassadors, although both highly reputable economists of similar training, evidently have quite different official views of Brazilian-American economic relations. As they themselves imply in their reference to the diplomatic schizophrenia of defending abroad what one denounces at home and vice versa, their differences may probably be traced to the circumstances and interests of the two countries, of the two worlds, of the rich and of the poor, whose diplomatic representatives they are. The American describes a relationship in which Big Brother selflessly provides much of the capital, technology and good advice (like that of the Ambassador himself), which the little brother, Brazil, needs to grow up into an independent industrialized adult. Though Americans do not really owe Brazilians anything, they incur considerable sacrifices on Brazil's behalf; and any gains they may derive are quite accidental and extraneous to the relation. Finding it difficult to accept this rosy picture, the Brazilian suggests instead that the real importance of U.S. aid is to the U.S. economy itself, that the hand-in-aid gives only little and that even this

and more is taken away in trade by the other hand. Still, being the official diplomatic representative of, among other influential groups, Brazilian groups which benefit from current Brazilian-U.S. relations, the Brazilian Embassy paints a picture that is not altogether dark.

Dispensing with diplomatic polity, but still confining the discussion largely to the topics selected by the Ambassadors, the comments of the present author suggest that, in its current form, this relation is neither "very" nor "slightly" beneficial, but instead definitely prejudicial to Brazil. Far from contributing capital to, and improving the structure of, the Brazilian economy, the United States draws capital out of Brazil and with what remains gains control of Brazilian capital and channels it into directions that increase Brazil's dependence on the United States and hinder Brazil's economic growth. The terms of trade form neither an accidental nor an extraneous but an integral

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part of this process. Far from pointing the way to Brazil's industrialization and development, the American Ambassador's recommended policies — emphasis on private enterprise, foreign investment, more raw-materials exports, etc.—would maintain Brazil's position as an underdeveloped, dependent economy. It appears, thus, that the United States takes away with both hands; the picture is neither rosy nor neutral, but quite dark.

The picture would emerge still darker or pitch-black if the analysis were extended beyond the selected topics to include the entire economic relationship between Brazil and the United States. Consider, for instance, the imposition, on threat of withholding short-term credits, of the policy of the International Monetary Fund. Supposedly to reduce balance-of-payments deficits, this policy calls for reducing exchange restrictions and thus permitting more transfer of capital out of Brazil; Brazilian devaluation to make the cruzeiro cheaper and the dollar dearer; supposedly anti-inflationary measures which shift income from the poor to the rich, thereby weakening domestic production and increasing the demand for imports—all of which results in new balance-of-payments deficits, new loans and new dosages of the same IMF medicine.

One might ask, if all this "aid" is really so damaging to Brazil, why does Brazil permit and even seek it? Again, the answer is to be sought in the very Brazil-U.S. relationship itself. First, of course, the relationship does reward *some* Brazilians with profits and power. These groups then apply this same power to efforts to maintain the relationship. Second, with time Brazil becomes so dependent that breaking away involves such high costs in the short run — whatever the long run gains—that many other groups, and especially any government, are loath to accept them. Thus, in the short run, failure to receive credits to refinance the already existing debt would force a cut of imports that are necessary in the same short run, because in the meantime the same economic relationship has destroyed or prevented the creation of productive capacity that would obviate these imports. If, going a step further out of the relationship, American investments are threatened, the short-term cost, as the case of Cuba demonstrates, is the stoppage of all trade. In a word, Brazil and other countries find themselves in a kind of debt-slavery relationship not unlike that of the peasant with his moneylender-landlord the world over, a relationship in which the very exploitation appears to make its own continuance necessary.

Finally, for what it may be worth, and as the analysis by the American Ambassador and in part that by the American-trained Brazilian Ambassador demonstrated, the United States also supplies the economic science—and the ideology as well—that tries to pretend this exploitative relationship is really necessary and desirable.

Our Quaint Political Folkways . . . Jerome Ellison

If we could look at the American scene with less involvement — pretending, say, we were historians sizing up today's events a century hence — one thing that would leap to our notice would be the grotesque and potentially disastrous ambivalence in our national attitudes toward change.

We are passably flexible in accepting new developments in literature and art. We are possibly too pliable in matters of morality, and anything but hidebound in our notions about raising kids. In technology we not only accept the new but run eagerly to meet it. But let the slightest hint of political change appear and we brace ourselves. We dig in. We resist. This change shall not be. What was good enough for 1776 is good enough for 1976.

This is dangerous. It is also, if we take the ideas of the founding fathers to be characteristically American, most perniciously un-American. Politics is the business of governing. Its work is, in the words of the preamble, to "form a more perfect union." Unless the political machinery integrates and coordinates the explosive social changes in progress, it fails to unify.

The kinds of changes our politics have signally failed to accommodate fall under two headings, geographical and jurisdictional. The first embraces situations where political boundaries are no longer related to the present realities of the size and activity of the population, like Hamtramck, the one-time suburb of Detroit that is now surrounded by Detroit. By "jurisdictional" is meant those areas of our corporate life, such as the poverty-delinquency - ignorance - unemployment syndrome, in which nobody has the authority to take effective action.

Let's begin with a simple case; air pollution. Air is air. It is continuous, enveloping the entire planet, following a well-charted circulation pattern. It's ridiculous to speak of Illinois air or Missouri air; it's everybody's air. New York City's air was being used in New Jersey a few hours ago. The air I breathe (in Connecticut) was in New York State last night. Air pollution is a matter of world concern. Control of pollution should, therefore, be administrated by a world agency or, in the absence of such, the next largest political unit, the nation. Our political folkways, however, place such concerns among the powers residing in the states, which delegate them to towns, villages and cities.

Consider the matter of education. Democratic theory holds that education is a national asset. When one child becomes educated, the whole nation is richer; when one is denied an education or short-changed in the transaction, the whole country is poorer. But public school education is, by our custom, a local affair. It is worth $562 per pupil year in New York, $283 in Maine, $424 in California, $369 in Indiana, $206 in Mississippi. A large, influential body of citizens protests that to correct these in-

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equalities by federal action is an invasion of "States' rights," and its offshoot, "local option."

Certainly there are things that ought to be settled locally — concerns important to those within a half hour's walk of one's home, and to nobody else. But exactly what is of exclusively local moment needs redefining in contemporary terms.

The concept of States' rights has been abused. Whenever a racist wants to keep the oppressed under heel, or an oil company coalition wants to put over a new steal, or a vested interest wants to block a forward stride in conservation, public housing, public health, or regulation of the insurance monsters, the wail goes up, "States' rights!" Our state legislatures are the least competent and most corrupt of all our constituted political bodies. Their members are as a general rule the least educated, the pettiest, the most readily bribed of all public officials.

Actually, looked at in one way, the states have no rights except those left over after the prime purposes of the Constitution are achieved: forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. When all this is accomplished, *then* come the rights of the states.

Geographically, the states are obsolete. Their boundaries were drawn on bases of political realities of fifty to 300 years ago. The extreme case is the New York City metropolitan area, where 1,500 municipal units frustrate one another in an attempt to cope with the political business of an area that is by its nature a single political unit, and an interstate board is necessary to cope with pollution in New York Bay.

The states are as obsolete politically as they are geographically. Despite every federal effort to support the dignity and replenish the treasuries of the states, they have more often than not proved to be failures as political units. They have rarely been able to carry through administrative jobs more complicated than mailing out license plates. There is no rational basis for the system of state, county and local government as now constituted. It is folklore, impure and devious.

The seventy-two-year record of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws is a kind of long-drawn-out obituary for state governments in anything like their present form. In a commendable effort to straighten out the worst tangles of conflicting laws and concepts among the states, the commissioners have drawn up a grand total of 118 uniform and model acts. Fewer than one-third of them have been adopted by more than one-third of the states. As a result, a man can be legally divorced in one state and arrested for bigamy in another. Desertion may be simply a matter of walking out the door in one state, a penitentiary offense in the next. One state rules the loss of a limb is worth $5,000, another $150,000. In one state you needn't lose your vote in a national election if you have to be out of town on election day, in another you do. Because these are all matters of national, not local, concern, they have been made the content of uniform, model laws. The failure of the states to act on them is another indication that in many aspects state government is dead, and ripe for burying.

That the national Congress stands in need of drastic reform is admitted even by the national Congress. There is almost always a resolution in the hopper to establish a commission to study the Congress and recommend reforms. This is at least an indication of a living, if sluggish, conscience, and may be taken as a sign of political life. Because most of the power combinations in Congress have an interest in the *status quo*, nothing much has ever come of these stirrings. But a growing restlessness over the worst of the Congressional evils — the seniority system in committee appointments — may ultimately bring some action. Too many people are growing unhappy about a system that maintains in positions of decisive national power, representatives from thinly populated areas quite outside the main stream of the national life, men who have gained seniority by decades of appeal to local prejudices. As Chester Bowles is fond of saying, "Any system — even throwing up a baseball bat and playing hand-over-hand — is better than this automatic guarantee of incompetence at the highest level!" How long must we pay the price of our quaint political folkways?

Our political anachronisms seem even more baffling when we consider how progressive we Americans are in other fields. For example, Dr. Benjamin Spock tells of our shifts in child-rearing policy from extreme rigidity, to extreme permissiveness, back to a belief that a certain structure in the management of children might after all be advisable. In each case, allowing for a cultural lag, a good part of the literate child-raising public followed cheerfully along with whatever was currently regarded as most progressive.

Our progressiveness in industry has long been the talk and envy of the world. It has now leaped so far ahead that its newest offering, automation, has presented us with what may turn out to be the biggest *political* question of the century: How can you keep a society happily, creatively and profitably occupied when 20 per cent of the labor force can do 100 per cent of the work? In transportation, we see the possibilities of a new idea and make a big thing of it. We exploited the possibilities of the bicycle, the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, promptly and to the limit. We were flexible about it, too — we junked our railroads, and now, as it becomes evident that under certain conditions railroads are efficient, are bringing them back again. In recreation the sky's the limit for progress, we'll try anything that might turn out to be fun. In America, change is everywhere the rule. Except in politics.

It has not always been so. Our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, our Bill of Rights and invention of a two-party system, gained us a world-wide reputation, one that stood for more than a century, as political innovators par excellence, models for emulation by peoples everywhere struggling toward progress. Arnold Toynbee, in *America and the World Revolution*, asserts that every revolution since the eighteenth century, including the Russian revolution, was inspired by the American example. A lot of people all over the world — even in the United

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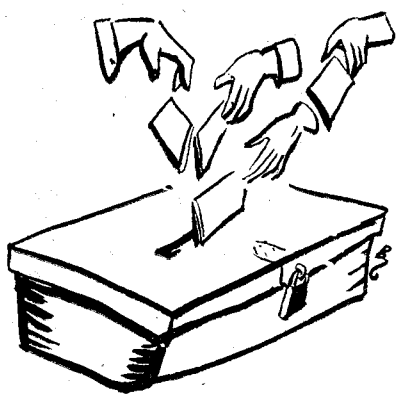
States — still think the U.S. Constitution is a great document. They are wondering why we have stopped taking seriously its stated purposes of forming a more perfect union, promoting the general welfare and securing the blessings of liberty. They ask why a great tradition has been allowed to degenerate into a collection of antique folkways. They ask why a people once noted for its genius in political innovation has reached a pass where its political development is so far behind its technological development that it often appears unable to manage its own national affairs.



Why this dichotomy? Why are we so keen on progress in every field — *except* the vital one of political science?

We need not look any further than Mississippi, I suggest, for the answer. In that state, the blessings of liberty cannot be bestowed because vested interests of great power oppose it. To people who live outside the state, the Mississippi case is obvious, clear-cut, shocking. The same mechanism is everywhere at work in a bland form that often escapes notice. The steady pressure of lobbies at every level of government, the readiness of job-holders who never had it so good and will go to any lengths to prevent its ever getting (for them) any worse, the generic dislike of every big frog for a new tadpole with new ideas in his pond, the fascination of neighborhood conflict, however petty its level, all combine to stifle political inventiveness.

The implications — to a country comprising only 6 per cent of mankind, in an era characterized by a world-wide fever of search for political methods suitable for the times — are so serious their importance cannot be overstressed. We now have resourceful and imaginative rivals. We have lost our political leadership. Sophisticated foreigners have come to think of us as quite naive in political matters, not really "with it," a century behind the times.

It is not yet too late to recoup. Through the same kind of political awakening that has led us belatedly to insist on civil rights for all citizens, we can re-enter the world as a nation able to devise a politics for contemporary needs.

I would propose, as a starter, two amendments to the Constitution: Article XXIII would place all govenmental powers in one United States Government; state governments and other jurisdictions could be chartered to act in such territories and exercise such powers as may be delegated to them by Congress. This would allow enormously greater scope to meet the developing political needs of a burgeoning country. It would permit a new "state" to be created to serve the New York City metropolitan area, carved to one jurisdictionally sane unit from the present states of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. A similar jurisdiction could be created for Chicago, made from parts of Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana; and one for Washington, D.C., taking in portions of Virginia and Maryland. The wheat states, cattle states, oil states, cotton states and lumber states, having common interests and needs, could have common jurisdiction. State names might be retained as reminders that the past, though colorful, revered and instructive, is past. Besides increasing the efficiency and reducing the expense of government, the amendment would bring local politicians to enforced awareness of national need.

Article XXIV would impose certain qualifications for service in the national Congress: members would be required to pass qualifying examinations in national and foreign affairs. Applicants for membership in Congressional committees would be given similar tests in committee specialties. Chairmanships would go to members achieving the highest examination scores in their chosen areas of legislative specialization. Elected Congressmen failing to pass the qualifying test would be tutored at government expense and required to qualify before being seated.

Join a Committee of a Million for Modern Politics, anyone? There are no dues or fees. An oath of loyalty to the preamble to the U.S. Constitution is not required, just kind of genially presupposed.

LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

of a Kennedy-Rockefeller contest, in that this would be one in which two supposed liberals of their respective parties would fight for the liberal vote. By doing this, their platforms would necessarily be expressive of their viewpoints.

Secondly, it is my opinion that it would not be so easy to defeat Goldwater if he ran. As an example, in a recent Congressional election in North Dakota, a Goldwater-supported candidate won over a Kennedy-supported candidate despite a split in the Republican Party. This may be a minor incident, but it is known to be a fairly good indication of the President's strength in that area of the country.

Another point illustrating Goldwater's power is his stand on integration. The Senator advocates States' rights unequivocally, and this makes him the darling of the South. Nixon would have won if he had carried the South, and Goldwater might well be the first to break the Democratic Party's long-time stranglehold on the South.

Next we must consider the consequences of Goldwater as President. *The Nation* is well aware of them, and they have been explored in your pages many times. . . .

Harold Tobman

Bounties are the bunk

Lombard, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Thanks for the article on "Wolves and Congressmen" (*The Nation*, Oct. 12) by David Cort. It is true that bounties are the bunk, and the National Wildlife Federation and other groups of conservationists have fought this waste of tax funds. Hunting the magnificent golden eagle by airplane is now *verboten* due to a recent amendment of the Bald Eagle Act of 1940. Senator Tower led the battle in behalf of the ranchers.

Raymond Mosteh
President, Illinois Audubon Society

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The Glossy Rats

David Cort

You will have noticed leaking into the popular press and the science-oriented magazines various stories typified by one in *The New York Times* of September 22, 1963, headed "Stress Is Called Population Curb." Since these unastounding stories are generally cautious drippings from a massive single work embodying a new general theory of animal (necessarily including human) life and organization, why don't we trace the driblets back to the general reservoir? The *Times* story did not even mention the book: *Animal Dispersion in Relation to Social Behaviour*, by V. C. Wynne-Edwards.

The theory is that mass communication runs right through the animal kingdom and is primarily geared to signal population control well before food resources are seriously threatened. The whole society gives its members the signals "Go!" and "Stop!" in an infinity of ways.

Before we go into these, let us note that what we call "wild life" must on these terms be much less wild, disorganized, unrestrained, uncommunicative and wanton than civilized human society. And yet we are more or less aware of the unconscious signals that the members of a human group, like any other animal group, must exchange in periods of success and, again, those of failure. The margins of success or failure are typically very small and appear in any group or team in a human society: e.g., a professional baseball team that is consistently winning and then, after a few losses, is consistently losing. It is the exceptional or, as Wynne-Edwards calls him, the dominant individual, who is impervious to the mass mood of defeat, and who rallies the group again toward success. This individual, as will be developed, can be described as "the glossy rat."

The warning seems to come to a species as a sense of being crowded. The whole group then takes drastic means to level off population. Among these measures are the excluding of inferior males from breeding, the deterioration of females' ova, a general neuroticism of males and females, sterile eggs or quick-dying young, cannibalism of the young, desertion, harassment of competitive families, emigration, prolonged adolescence, reduced breeding, reduced litters, abortions or uterine resorptions.

ANIMAL DISPERSION IN RELATION TO SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR. By V. C. Wynne-Edwards. Hafner Publishing Co. 653 pp. $10.25.

There is massive documentation that all creatures are members of local, specific societies. A society is defined as "an organization capable of providing conventional competition," and where there are two sexes, this is conducted by the males. The competition gets more complex in the "higher animals," the insects and vertebrates. But it is always conventional competition, and conformity is not so much compulsory as automatic.

Among laboratory rats, mice and voles the competition of crowding produces three types: large, glossy-furred males; large, tattered and scarred males with overactive adrenals; and small, recessive males. The first type does all the successful breeding.

The first requirement of a society is that its members become aware at some point of one another's existence. This is accomplished in a thousand ways: by flocks and herds and schools; congregations of mating males; dancing of gnats and midges; milling of whirligig beetles; choruses of birds, bats, frogs, fish, insects, shrimp; defense of family territory, conventional nest sites, conventional roosting sites, regular dunging places (spotted hyena, several antelopes, all rhinoceroses), the use of odors, etc.

Many of these behaviors, such as singing, scent, herding and schooling, actually attract predators and might therefore be considered a liability. The reasonable inference is that their social function is so important within the species that the danger from predators must be accepted as incidental.

Thanks to all this communication, the local race eventually begins to feel that it has reached the optimum population for the habitat (this is far short of any possible maximum). It then puts into effect its population controls, of which a few examples must be cited from Wynne-Edwards. In Dutch titmice, population density reduced the number of second broods and of eggs per nest. In Lapland voles, first-year animals bred only in low-population years. Among brant geese, more crowded nest areas averaged 3.77 eggs per nest, less crowded 4.41. When crowded, bees, wasps, ants and termites eat their eggs. British buzzards stopped breeding when plague wiped out the rabbits; pomarine jaegers did the same in low lemming years. Welsh doe rabbits resorbed two-thirds of their litters around the twelfth day of pregnancy. Aquarium guppies cannibalized until population was down to a given figure. Goldfish in a small bowl stop growing; then resume growth if moved to a larger bowl. Crowded tadpoles excrete a substance that inhibits growth of all tadpoles in the water. In general, only dominant members of a race breed in time of famine.

An apparent exception is the ungulates, which do not check their increase. They seem to rely on their predators. Where these have been destroyed, as in America, a disastrous rise and fall of deer populations is customary. Elsewhere, it is noted, predators act to keep the prey stock at an optimum-yield level; they are careful to "crop" it, not annihilate it.

The sequence seems to be: prosperity, more population, more competition, feedback signals, population brakes, less population. And, of course, around again on the upswing of the cycle. This takes place in each local society indigenous to a given area, all with a common descent, and intent on self-perpetuation. Where a society fails, nomads from other colonies will move in and found a new society.

Competition leads to virtually no killing within the species. And it is not practiced directly for food, but for substitute goals such as territory, status or females. The male mating threats are essentially bluffs, except where the older males are immensely more powerful than the young ones, as in the seals, walrus, rabbits and big apes, and where these monopolize the females. In some birds, as the sage grouse, a single male, the master

David Cort's latest book is Social Astonishments *(Macmillan).*

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cock, does all the breeding, and is supported by a squad of guard cocks. Even when several hens are lined up waiting for the stud to regain his vigor, the guard cocks are reluctant to understudy him. Breeding is an elite function in many species, and denied the less dominant males. Male ruffs congregate, each on his own little hill, and vibrate, now and then sparring harmlessly with neighbors. When a female approaches, all the males present "bowed themselves to the ground, and remained in this devotional attitude for some seconds after she left." Surely this is the last refinement of social behavior. The great age of chivalry never did so well.

Wynne-Edwards is making the very important point that all animals have a built-in social instinct and procedure, primarily geared to population control. It contradicts Darwin at some minor points, and is therefore in anguished controversy among biologists. It also constitutes by analogy a terrible warning to mankind, and that is why the press is toying with it so gingerly. But to an outsider (though not outside mankind) it would seem that Wynne-Edwards has proved that animals do communicate and do control population long before they have exhausted the ecology. If this had not always been so, given the astronomic reproduction potentials of many creatures, the animal population of the earth would long ago have stripped the planet and extinguished itself.

This brings us to human society. Wynne-Edwards restrains himself on this subject, but occasionally permits himself an observation. "The elaborate and highly perfected self-regulating machinery, which man used to possess like other species, has all gone by default. . . ." "If the [consumption conventions] are broken, serious consequences will follow, not at once and not necessarily affecting the actual law-breakers, but only ultimately when the population mounts or the resources decline. . . ." "If the increase [of Man] is not controlled . . . a crash seems certain; and even if some fragments of the human species were to survive . . . with the fossil fuels — coal and oil — largely gone, there might be no second chance." "When we consider the animal kingdom at large, long life — over thirty years, say — is seen on the whole to be a sporadic phenomenon; and this implies that in the long run its adherents have been more likely to become extinct."

Conclusion: the species reading this is in peril. The human "crash" referred to is not a theory; man has already gone beyond the optimum and is crowding the fatal maximum, the point of no return. That is why we are now looking to the legendarily inexhaustible oceans and outer space.

The curious fact is that man, if we accept him as one of Wynne-Edwards' animals, knows his peril, instinctually if not consciously. Nearly every vice of modern human society, so carefully diagramed by our social scientists, is paralleled in the lower species in times of crowding. Man's present vices represent his attempt to save the species, in spite of himself.

In Wynne-Edwards' proofs we can see reflected the breakdown of relations between parents and children, the male's and female's diminished attachment, the constant migration of peoples, the female's objection to being just a breeder, the male's resentment at being just a provider, smaller families, divorces, desertions, minorities escaping from "ghettos," elites struggling to keep out the invaders, the increase of homosexuality and neuroticism, alcohol and drugs, and above all, the evidence that young people, the group most sensitive to social stress, desire violence, especially if it is unprofitable and senseless: in all this we see that human society is reacting just as Wynne-Edwards says a crowded society should. It is giving a warning which nobody heeds; even when they see the Sunday cars jamming the highways, as in a dance of gnats, or swarming of locusts.

Wynne-Edwards may have made all the social scientists superfluous if it is true that, after a mere 100,000 years of formal socializing, man still retains the more basic social instincts of the rest of the animal kingdom.

Surely we can see in 1963 the tattered beatnik rats with overactive adrenals, the withdrawn rats, and the glossy breeders on the commuter trains. The first dominate the literary fashion, with Mailer, Beckett, John Osborne, James Baldwin, Kerouac, James Jones, Edward Albee; the second are epitomized by Salinger; and the third glossily run the society: Kennedys, Roosevelts, du Ponts, Rockefellers, Adam Clayton Powell, Goldwater.

These patterns have been confirmed in laboratory experiments with crowded rats performed by John Calhoun, and cited by Dr. René A. Spitz in a paper he read last spring at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association. Here again were the withdrawn, hopeless males, eating alone, avoiding females. Here were the rattled beatniks, forming packs to chase females, deviating into rape, homosexuality and cannibalism, producing some litters but unable to raise them. And here, in favorable corners, were the big glossy rats with their successful harems. However, their healthy descendants, moved to roomy living quarters, could not raise surviving young. That race of rats had reached extinction.

Dr. Spitz, visiting professor of psychiatry at the University of Colorado Medical Center, has a psychological theory to explain these effects of crowding. He believes that an excessive number of contacts among the rats overloaded their capacity to react properly. Each contact was broken off by a new contact before the rat could complete its reaction to the first; thus action and reaction became chaotic.

He presumes that all creatures are disturbed by undergoing incomplete or frustrated action cycles. This theory seems a small parenthesis within Wynne-Edwards' grand theory, but it transports itself even more obviously to human behavior and modern city life. Even though most other creatures do not react in this same way to overcrowding, the result is the same: cutting off of reproduction.

People, of course, are not rats. Ordinary city people have perhaps 10,000 "contacts" every day, hardly noticing the passers-by (but the men notice the attractive women: an incomplete cycle here) and suffering no apparent stress or confusion. The modern city's don't-get-involved syndrome seems necesary to remain a glossy city rat. The human defense against overcrowding (or overloading) is the healthy ego whose foundation is laid in infancy. But where the mothers are increasingly neurotic, the child's ego is damaged in infancy, and it will behave in some of the ways of the laboratory rats.

Other papers written on this subject feebly echo and fractionally duplicate parts of Wynne-Edwards' work — which, it should be added, is completely fascinating reading for the layman. If mankind is actually carrying out some of the prescribed patterns of overcrowded animals, the fact should appear in our political thinking. The present search for a "good" conservatism is probably an uncon-

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The Weather of Poetry

A Part of a Longer Poem

Argonauts pace the prow by a gull
waving its beak
to shake off the wind that spreads its feathers —
Below the keel
the anemones dance
and the sea worm is a decorated flute
that pipes in the most ancient mode
to the full flowers and fish —
Though above
only the bird doesn't move
in its stalemate
with the fir forest of wind —
under the sharp spray
even motion is stillness accompanied by silence
and the land's decaying turf
would be glad
to be shot there by a hoof

Joel Sloman

The Walkers

Touching that road
from pines to sea
after the rain

white footprints
cut out of moonlight
in the rain-
black sand

stroke of the wind
thrust of the water
the blow of spray

blind swirl
deaf lightning
tongueless thunder

a dialogue not
yet a language

still, the gull must
have slept under
the rock, the scup
beneath the swaying weed

and the return, foot-
prints *mother-of-pearl*
under the moon

a moon of curious
journey, spoken
only much later.

Donald W. Baker

The Trees

The trees inside are moving out into the forest,
the forest that was empty all these days
where no bird could sit
no insect hide
no sun bury its feet in shadow
the forest that was empty all these nights
will be full of trees by morning.

All night the roots work
to disengage themselves from the cracks
in the verandah floor.
The leaves strain toward the glass
small twigs stiff with exertion
long-cramped boughs shuffling under the roof
like newly discharged patients
half-dazed by the end of resignation
moving to the clinic doors.

I sit inside, doors open to the verandah
writing long letters
in which I scarcely mention the departure
of the forest from the house.
The night is fresh, the whole moon shines
in a sky still open,
the smell of leaves and lichen
still reaches like a voice into the rooms,
my head is full of whispers
which tomorrow will be silent.

Listen. The glass is breaking.
The trees are stumbling forward
into the night. Winds rush to meet them.
The moon is broken like a mirror,
its pieces flash now in the crown
of the tallest oak.

Adrienne Rich

One Summer Night

The great sea of the crickets
Chirruped sullenly.

The turtle of sleep descended
On my chest.

I dreamt of a man, who climbed
The side of a mountain,
To reach the waterfall.
He drank, and was swept away.

Outside,
For a mile around me,
Nothing moved.

Richard Deutch

How Many Bones! How Many

this dawn is a yellow desert, —
a sunrise over the rim
of dull yellow mountains

the floor of the desert is cold
yellow slate, with bony
little bushes and bone white

and salted mirrors, oval shaped
are let into the ground;
the sun is flooding over them.

Norman Porter

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scious and garbled expression of Wynne-Edwards' theory. The tattered rats with overactive adrenals are, to most Americans, the Communists. But neither the Communists nor the conservatives are much interested in conservation of resources.

One may ask whether the natural world, as described by Wynne-Edwards, is closer to the communistic or democratic forms. (Man's right to make his own world, whatever God hath wrought, is not questioned.) Under communism, conformity of group planning for group survival is certainly enforced, and that is the whole point of Wynne-Edwards' theory. However, the natural society is anarchically competitive, with ample room for private initiative within conventional and traditional patterns. Successful males often win oligarchic status. Freedom of movement is largely permitted. Talent is rewarded. Within a species or race, death is not the penalty for failure. Whatever the system, the underlying instinct of the race can only be described as patriotism.

The death of true patriotism may be what we really see in human society, and there is no doubt that it will be paid for, and before many more decades have passed. It would be useless to bring the "certain crash" which Wynne-Edwards foresees to the attention of the political mind. Politicians are not in the business of reading the handwriting on the wall for a whole society. Certainly the glossy rats know about the tattered and beaten rats, but they still do not know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for the children unto the second and third generation, and then there is no one to hear the bell.

And nobody even told you about it.

Historians on Themselves

IN RETROSPECT: The History of a Historian. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. Harcourt, Brace & World. 212 pp. $4.50.

MOORINGS OLD AND NEW: Entries in an Immigrant's Log. By Paul Knaplund. State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 276 pp. $4.

John Higham

At the request of the editors of an almanac, Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger once summarized the history of the United States in 3,500 words. On another occasion he formulated, edited and partly wrote a thirteen-volume *History of American Life* (1927-1948). The first venture testified to the laconic and summary form of thought and expression that has often enabled him to catch up a great sweep of history in a phrase. The second displayed the astonishing breadth of view that impelled him far beyond the limits of orthodox scholarship and equipped him to map out, as no one had done before, the immense terrain of American social history.

Both the conciseness and the wide range of his mind characterize this genial autobiography. The circumstances of a busy, happy life are smoothly told: the early years in a German immigrant family in a small Ohio town; the progressively wider horizons of Ohio State University and then Columbia University in the halcyon era of Charles A. Beard and James Harvey Robinson; the call to Harvard in 1924; the many books and articles that flowed from his typewriter; the pleasures of training able students; the leadership of scholarly organizations; the peripheral contacts with public affairs; and the constant participation in liberal causes from the day the boy shook Bryan's hand to the present service of the retired professor on various commissions.

The whole comprises a worthy and humane record of a life apparently free from crisis or anxiety. Many will wish that Mr. Schlesinger told more about his intellectual experiences — about his techniques as editor and scholar, his encounters with historical problems, and his views of other historians. Such matters lie mostly beyond the pale of his discretion or beneath the penetration of his objective outlook. Mr. Schlesinger came of age when history was too narrow and had to be broadened. Today we want to deepen it. But his task was different, and his autobiography resembles his history in suggesting the breadth rather than the depth of life.

Coincidentally, another notable historian, who retired from the University of Wisconsin about the time Professor Schlesinger retired from Harvard, has just published his memoirs. Paul Knaplund, an immigrant boy from Norway, arrived at a Minnesota farm in 1906, the year when Schlesinger left Xenia, Ohio, to go off to college. While Schlesinger moved outward and upward on the ladder of American culture, Knaplund put down new and permanent roots in the Middle West. Working first as a farm hand and then as a parochial schoolteacher, he rose eventually to be chairman of the History Department at Wisconsin and an authority on British imperial history. Whereas Schlesinger is a sunny, affable man, Knaplund has carried through life the wintry austerity of his native mountains. Nevertheless, he has told much the more personal story. His *Moorings Old and New* is a moving chronicle of the painful loss of one home and the gradual making of another. It is one of the finest accounts of Americanization in our literature.

The great Dutch scholar, Johan Huizinga, once said that historians should cultivate "soberness, restraint, a certain skeptical reserve in investigating the deepest emotions of the heart." For historians this is good advice, congenial to their judicious and circumspect habits of mind. But the qualities that arm a historian for participating in other men's lives can handicap him in revealing his own. In the end Professor Knaplund, too, maintains the detachment of his discipline. He writes of his early experience in the third person, as if it had happened to someone else long ago. And once settled in an American professorship and clothed in a new identity, the historian draws the veil.

John Higham is professor of history at the University of Michigan and the author of Strangers in the Land, Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (*Atheneum*).

Search for Passion

REALITY SANDWICHES: 1953-1960. By Allen Ginsberg. City Lights Books. 98 pp. $1.50.

James Scully

Wallace Stevens once wrote that authors are actors. Well, every actor needs a stage: if the world will not provide it ready-made, one must be improvised. In the theatre of his poetry, Ginsberg is a grand and tawdry passion in search of two boards, any two, upon which it may play itself out.

And Ginsberg works at it. Wherever his ambition falters, as in "Aether,"

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there's either a lapse of mental integrity or a breakdown of language. The former is exposed in the pompous conclusion, ascending the sennet of capital letters, that God is meaningless. In attempting to discover ultimate bedrock beneath the "Universe," he tends to fall headlong into God, Angels, Cosmos, Time, Eternity and other graveyards of the sentimental intellect. He then resembles the shade of the second-rate sociologist who stuffed all his categorical jargon into a rucksack and marched off, one day, toward bloody-gold horizons of evangelical light. An admirable move, surely, if only because any passion is preferable to none at all. In the end, however, it will not suffice. So flimsy a passion is liable to dissolve, more or less insensibly, from speech to babbling and from histrionics into hysterics.

Yet Ginsberg's metaphysical probings frequently do touch home, particularly when he ceases daydreaming of naked Eternity and concentrates instead on its "hieroglyphs." These are the only realities we can sink our teeth into. So the finest poem in this collection, "Siesta in Xbalba," embodies neither Hell nor Heaven but a strangely palpable, pulsating world in which both those extremes are implicit; it recalls not Blake, but the quieter vision of Henry Vaughan. At indefinite moments the real becomes unreal, even while the persistent sensation of reality swells and envelops one's mind:

palms with lethargic feelers
rattling in presage of rain,
shifting their fronds
in the direction of the balmy wind,
monstrous animals
sprayed up out of the ground
settling and unsettling
as in water . . .

"And later in the night," it continues, "a moment of premonition / when the plenilunar cloudfilled sky / is still and small." How often do we find such an image, one undergoing such dramatic metamorphoses, which yet remains precise and inviolable throughout? It makes our ordinary distinction between illusion and reality seem piddling or even perverse. Nor is this an isolated moment in the poem: it spreads out and sustains itself, before and after.

Ginsberg, too, sustains himself. One wonders how, for he is the unacceptable human being whom the Brahmins thought they had transformed into a bearable, if not entirely acceptable, screwball. What was it that unnerved them? The brain, the ego, the extravagant wit, the obscenity, the broadly humorous self-perspectives, the oftentimes cauliflowered inner ear? Perhaps they were disturbed by the humanity which informs so much of the poetry, especially the *Kaddish* volume. In *Reality Sandwiches,* he manages to imbue even a scatological insight with that sense of humanity. For "even the ugliest will seek beauty," and of a crippled girl, "her hips askew":

let her roll her eyes in abandon &
camp angelic through
the campus bouncing her body
about in joy —
someone will dig that pelvic energy
for sure.

Such a joyously obscene suggestion hardly undercuts the cripple; in fact, it catches her radiance. In a crazy way, what might have been merely pitiable has become desirable: an agony has evolved into a celebration. This is what a sense of humanity does. And in a society of cliques Allen Ginsberg is one who has made an attempt, more apparent in his poetry than in his publicity, to uncover a community. It is in this, not in the religious or sexual abstractions, that the passion realizes itself. Then the Allen emerges from behind the Ginsberg; the man breaks through the paper wall.

James Scully is a poet; he has recently completed A Survey of Contemporary British and American Poetry *to be published in Italy in December.*

Second Impressions

REVIEW OF PAPERBACKS

Robert M. Wallace

Communism

The Roots of American Communism and *American Communism and Soviet Russia* by Theodore Draper (Compass, $1.95 ea.), sponsored by The Fund for the Republic, trace the movement from the late nineteenth century to 1929. The narrative is lively with formerly obscure details about the persons involved. From the start, personal ambition and disagreement on dogma or action created uninterrupted but variable tensions among leaders and factions. Mr. Draper documents these, the struggles of the war years and the early Bolshevik period with great authority in the first volume. Conversions and disillusionment of such men as Lincoln Steffens, Max Eastman and James Freeman illustrate the idealism of many early supporters of the Russian Revolution—a revolution at last which succeeded. The doctrinaire planning and reversals under Soviet domination of the period 1923-29, which fill the second volume, are well illustrated by a meaty chapter on the Negro question. At Stalin's insistence, Mr. Draper says, the party supported American Negro nationalism against the best judgment of the Americans, white and colored. The awkward adjustments to conform with this distasteful (ultimately abandoned) policy were symptomatic of the American party's subservience. It is a dreary tale, but vividly told.

Conversations with Stalin by Milovan Djilas (Harvest, $1.65). Djilas' gripping account of his progress from catechismal orthodoxy through a kind of Pyrrhonistic doubt to disillusionment with the leadership and practice of communism.

Justice in the U.S.S.R. by Harold J. Berman (Vintage, $2.45). The Soviet legal system as an outgrowth of Russian and Marxist traditions and a reflection of Soviet society; extensively revised.

Chinese Communism: Selected Documents, Dan N. Jacobs and Hans H. Baerwald, editors (Harper & Row, $1.95). Backgrounds of the Russian-Chinese split in statements by Mao and others dating from 1927; useful introduction.

The Nature of Communism by Robert V. Daniels (Vintage, $1.95). A helpful explanation of communism as it has actually operated from Czarist times under the influence of dogma, circumstances and national ambitions.

The United States

The Road to Independence, a Documentary History of the American Revolution, John Braeman, editor, and *The Reconstruction, a Documentary History: 1865-1877,* James P. Shenton, editor (Capricorn, $1.65; $1.75). Contemporary accounts from varied sources with useful, brief links.

Political Thought of the American Revolution by Clinton Rossiter (Harvest, $1.65). This is *Seedtime of the Republic,* Part III, slightly revised; an excellent analysis of the strictly political bases of the break with Britain.

America and the Atlantic Community, Anglo-American Aspects, 1790-1850 by Frank Thistlewaite (Harper & Row, $1.45). An enlightening, current-

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DID YOU READ THE ARTICLE?

Snick: The Battle-Scarred Youngsters

(In *The Nation*, October 5, 1963)

Many people wrote saying they were moved by the account of the 17-year-old youngsters who had been in Parchman Penitentiary in Mississippi.

> But a few days ago I stopped in at the *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee* office in Atlanta, and Jim Forman was pacing the floor. I asked him what was wrong. He looked up, **"We got no bread, man. No money."**

Here are a few lines from a letter by Joyce Barrett, *SNCC* field secretary in Southwest Georgia:

> **. . . So here we are. Many of our people are in jail. Three of our staff are facing death by execution. The Justice Department has done nothing about police brutality in Americus, Georgia, although a fellow has had his leg broken and several people have had to have stitches.. . . . And finally we have no money—we literally have $2 or $3 with no prospect of any coming in. We're not eating very much these days. . . .**

So we're running this ad hopefully.

Howard Zinn

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
"Snick"

6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
(404) 688-0331

Enclosed is $..... to help bring democracy and hope to be deprived and disenfranchised Negroes of the South.

I pledge $..... every ..... to aid ***Snick's*** ONE MAN—ONE VOTE campaign.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip No. .....

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ly relevant analysis of the mutual adjustments between England and the United States, their reformist and conservative traditions, their economies.

The United States and the Unity of Europe by Max Beloff (Vintage, $1.65). A Brookings Institution study of American efforts since the Second World War to encourage close economic and political integration in Western Europe.

The Supreme Court in the American System of Government by Robert H. Jackson (Harper & Row, 95c). The Godkin lectures of 1955, but not actually delivered, on the court as a unit of government, a law court and a political institution.

American Ethics and Public Policy by Abraham Kaplan (Oxford, $1.25). Urges the combination of moral and material standards in a pragmatic approach constantly reassessed in light of changing political actualities.

The Death and Life of Great American Cities by Jane Jacobs (Vintage, $1.95). A substantial, provocative, dissenting report on current patterns of urban renewal.

John Paul Jones, a Sailor's Biography by Samuel Eliot Morison (Atlantic-Little, Brown, $2.45) and *The Revolutionary* by Lawrence Schoonover (Popular Library, 95c). The Pulitzer Prize, standard biography and a vivid, convincing novel of the life of the nation's first naval hero.

Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel by C. Vann Woodward (Oxford, $2.50). A cogent, readable analysis of the backgrounds, motives and career of the notable Georgia Populist; provides background to many current tensions.

Letters

The Meditative Poem, Louis L. Martz, editor (Anchor, $1.95). Seventeenth-century "metaphysical" poetry, largely religious, particularly well chosen and edited in the context of Mr. Martz's penetrating study, *The Poetry of Meditation.*

Hamlet (in two volumes), *Macbeth, King Lear, Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet* (Dover, $2.25 ea.) begin paperback reissue of the complete Furness New Variorum Shakespeare. These durably sewn volumes on good paper may be hard-bound by the purchaser.

A Preface to Eighteenth Century Poetry by James Sutherland (Oxford, $1.50). A perceptive, balanced antidote to narrow romanticism.

Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763, Frederick A. Pottle, editor (McGraw-Hill, $2.45). First of four Boswell journals to be issued in attractive, only slightly reduced page size, from the Yale edition. Here Boswell explores London, meets Johnson, gains his friendship and sets out for Holland.

Henry James: The Major Phase by F. O. Matthiessen (Oxford, $1.35). Still a standard study of *The Ambassadors, The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl* in their thematic and technical accomplishments as the cream of his work.

Fiction

Stephen Hero by James Joyce (New Directions, $1.70). *In Parentheses* by David Jones (Compass Books, $1.45). *A Severed Head* by Iris Murdock (Compass, $1.45). *All the King's Men* by Robert Penn Warren (Bantam, 75c). *So Red the Rose* by Stark Young (Popular Library, 75c).

Miscellaneous

The Collected Papers of Sigmund Freud, in ten volumes, Philip Reiff, editor (Collier, 95c to $1.50). Includes case studies, psychological theory and the social and artistic implications of Freudian psychology.

The Economics of Trade Unions by Albert Rees (University of Chicago Press, $1.35). A useful, clearly written introduction, conservative in tendency but not hostile to unionism.

Community Power Structure by Floyd Hunter (Anchor, $1.45). A classic analysis of how decisions affecting significant community affairs get made, who makes them and how they are put to work to advance or block action.

The Addict, Dan Wakefield, editor (Gold Medal, 50c). An informative anthology including five articles on the "British System" of control by the medical profession and other experiments and hopes.

Suffer, Little Children by Dr. Max Rafferty (Signet, 60c). The controversial attack on progressive education by the California state superintendent: florid and generalized but provocative.

The Bible and the Public Schools, Arthur Frommer, editor (Liberal Press-Pocket Books, $1.25). All opinions in the June, 1963, Supreme Court decision in the Schempp and Murray cases with some testimony, background and analytic comment.

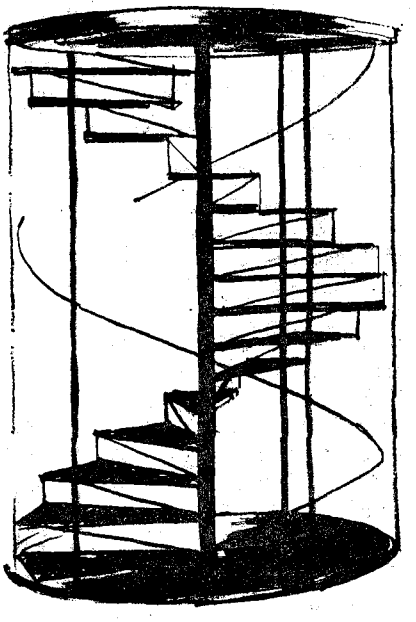
ARCHITECTURE

Walter McQuade

Stairs, the photographic exhibition in the snug cellar of the Museum of Modern Art, is a triumph of its type, which is the unpretentious, portable photographic display. Credited to designer Bernard Rudofsky and the museum's staff, it offers a collection of pictures of interesting architectural ascents, sets of risers and treads, extraordinary solutions to that ordinary old problem of getting people up and down from floor to floor.

There are but few words accompanying the pictures, and no heavy ones. Rudofsky's captions are pleasantly incidental; "If we ever learn to walk again, stairs may once more find their place in architecture" is about the sum of his philosophic message. Few exhibitions, however, better isolate the element of talent in architectural design—a quality that has become more difficult to detect as the going architectural styles have become perfected to the state where they can sometimes be run on taste rather than talent.

Stairways are not only difficult to design (almost as difficult as chairs), but they can also be infuriating to construct, as so many home carpenters have discovered. In fact, they are almost as restricted a form as the sonnet, what with the relationships of riser to tread, the need for safety rails and rigidity, and the frequently uncamouflageable, naked structure. Yet even with all the rules and restrictions, or perhaps *because* of these strictures,



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the staircase remains one of the most revealing duties the designer performs, exposing both his daring and the real quality of his craft imagination. A frequent denunciation of modern architecture has been lack of imagination, the impression of excessive control, the totalitarian feeling. Norman Mailer, for example made this his main point earlier in the year when he spent a couple of columns in issues of *Esquire* excoriating the modern movement, and what he wrote was quite undeniable. Most new buildings do have that totalitarian tone, but the reason is hardly political, in the heavy, culturally downhill sense against which Mailer is a valuable prop. The reason may be only a matter of supply and demand. Perhaps there is not enough design talent—or design time—to meet the need of industrialism, which is to place its dumb blocks in arrangements significant to human beings, to add to cubic space a rhythm of mind and heart. Most of our buildings, including even our houses, are assemblies of factory-made components. I expect someone very soon to program a computer to turn out the blueprints for an office building on any given Manhattan site. (The only likely obstacle to this is that there will still be architects willing to work more cheaply than the computer.)

But this totalitarian flatness, while it characterizes too many of our buildings, is not true of our high architecture—an art form as subtle as any. Mailer's mistake is that he condemns an art on the testimony of a mass environment, which is like applying the highest literary standards to movie magazines. Most of our buildings are slick and gaudy. But they are not architecture. A sorry thing for architects is that even as sharp a critic as Mailer fails to sort out the work of art from the packaged product.

One way to do it is by means of those revealing stairways. It must be admitted that most staircases around New York City, in even the most widely promoted buildings, are pretty bad, but that is because the buildings are bad. This exhibition shows some staircases that are grand in both solidity and spirit, such rapturously dignified creations as Michelangelo's steps to the Senate in Rome, a gigantic piece of subjective sculpture with the stern intensity of force of a dying Pope. The flamboyant Spanish steps are also included, of course, and later in history come such striking photographs as that of the sweeping staircase in the Dufayel Department store in Paris. This staircase is, incidentally, a psychological reverse of the contemporary department store's selling instrument, the slow escalator, which is intended to present the rider with a panoramic temptation of merchandise as he descends from floor to floor. Instead the Dufayel staircase was clearly intended for the exhibition of the human beings using it. The modern stairways include some of L. Mies van der Rohe's, the best of which is the starkly beautiful entrance to the Arts Club, a Chicago organization which occupies the second floor of a quite routine building on a typical city street. However, a long wall of glass reaches down to the first floor, to become the fourth wall of an otherwise stone-paneled well accommodating just one thing—a white steel stair, darkly carpeted, restrained but absolutely sumptuous. More gymnastic examples from abroad are those of Scandinavian Arne Jacobsen (the sketch on the previous page is one of his fire stairs in a Copenhagen office building), and the work of several fine Italian stairway hands is particularly elegant. It is a good show, designed to be seen swiftly, but to stick in the mind.

Up the Modern Museum's own excellent stairs from the cellar to the main floor (quite a high rise, but with an enticing turn, nice interruptions, a soft feeling underfoot and a witty ceiling) is another interesting show of photographs: Landscape Photography — great American sites, still, thank God, without buildings. This may put the exhibit a little out of my realm, but the technique of its display does call for comment.

The difficulty with showing photographs is, usually, that people do too much designing *with* them. In museums, photographs are frequently enlarged far beyond their proper focus, so that they are startling to see from across a room, but lose force as you eagerly approach them. Or they are combined into "compositions"—splattered over a wall in some tense order that drains tension from the photographs themselves. A sequence of photographs, well presented, is fine; but it should be kept fairly blunt.

The temptation to compose with landscapes is especially high. Landscapes are so big, and landscape photographers use such long exposures that they *can* be blown up. It is to the credit of the Modern Museum people, however, that in this show most of the photographs are merely good-sized prints, well framed, deep with discoveries which the viewer has to approach and realize for himself — not defend himself against. The photographs in this show are not oversold; but are presented with calm, correct confidence, and they are as moving as only the land, in its moods, can be.

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MUSIC

Benjamin Boretz

Benjamin Britten is the most artful and accomplished of the fabricators of those collections of sonic effects and gestures that have an immediate impact of great inspirational communication, and are the popular "masterpieces" of our time. In the context, Britten stands out as master, with a range of techniques and resources, and an instinct for their precisely appropriate manipulation, whose virtuosity is fascinating in itself and completely unapproached by any other composer of the genre. Britten's musical manner is concise, alert and sophisticated—traits that are disarmingly attractive in a realm dominated by the windy pretensions and clumsy monomania of such composers as Sibelius, Vaughan Williams and Shostakovich. His music exhibits a broad musical literacy, a willingness to turn even the esoteric, complex and challenging resources of any period to his own advantages, that make self-imposed primitivisms like those of Orff's various *Carmini* seem even drearier; and his ability to provide the semblance of connection and continuity among the moments of an extended work, often through quite elaborate, cunning and multi-layered juxtapositions of widely varying devices of association and reference, are simply beyond comparison with the transparently superimposed consistencies of, for example, Menotti, Dello Joio or Hovhaness, or the crude successions of jarring contrasts that serve as the sole means of progression in works like Barber's *Vanessa* or Robert Ward's *The Crucible*. In a way, the composer whom Britten most resembles is the Hindemith of the twenties and thirties, but Hindemith was at once far more deeply involved with real compositional concerns, and far less capable of producing such interesting and attractive-sounding scores.

Within its limits, moreover, Britten's cleverness is quite genuine. Even a demanding listener can enjoy at least a first hearing of music in which all the standard tricks and tools of the musician's trade are deployed with consummate deftness, and without the least distraction by abrasive (and what in this context would be pretentious) dilemmas of original composition. And the knowledgeable music lover is apt to be delighted by the sly and appropriate allusions that Britten works into his pieces—a technique which, combined with much of his surface rhythm and texture, immediately invokes the shadow of Stravinsky (thus providing an extra allusive fillip). Indeed, Britten in many ways seems to satisfy the popular image of Stravinsky that Stravinsky himself always frustrates.

At the top of his form, when he is able to maintain a continuous flow of bright ideas as in works like *The Turn of the Screw*, *Serenade*, the *Spring Symphony* and the *Cantata Academica*, Britten provides musical entertainment of a civilized kind that has practically vanished from the "serious"-music domain since the days of Offenbach. When he fails, because of a precious affectation of naïveté, as in *Noye's Fludde*, or an apparently cynical indifference to a potboiling job, as in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* (done last season at the City Center), or an attempt to tackle a real compositional task beyond his capabilities, as in the Donne and Michelangelo Sonnets and the *Sinfonia da Requiem*, the results are predictably catastrophic; for in the absence of the tension of real creative aspiration, one is left only with auditory boredom and embarrassment.

In the *War Requiem*, whose New York première was given by the Boston Symphony under Erich Leinsdorf last month, Britten's methods are put to a particular test by the need to sustain interest over ninety minutes of music without the cooperative ingenuity of a stage director to get past the dead spots. The process obviously begins with the title, with its solemn promise of elevation and special message, combining man's eternal concern and our century's particular vexation in a single stroke. This promise, moreover, is heightened by the interspersion of Wilfred Owen's poems among the verses of the Latin Requiem, a touch of unmistakable "originality." Britten fulfills the duality in his musical setting, not only in the obvious opposition of the male soloists and prevailing bass timbres of the Owen poems against the chorus, soprano and boys' choir in the liturgy; but also by the divergent "styles" of the two levels: the Latin texts are bound into a "traditional" rhythm and phraseology, while the Owen settings have sometimes a suspended motion, sometimes a vacillating rhythmic pulse that clearly establishes a "modern" reference. These are given constant motivic connections, and as the work proceeds they "converge" until, presumably, they "merge" in the final *In Paradisum*. The illusion of progressive forward motion is guaranteed by motivic connections that undergo simple changes that are flatteringly easy to perceive as "structural" events, and grand conceptual unity is provided by many literal cyclic recurrences, particularly the bells at the beginning and end of the first half and a prominently returning interval or two.

The correct attribution of pathos and profundity is assured by the adoption of the manners of Mahler, Beethoven and other appropriately evocative composers, and the unfailing presence of the right solemn, brilliant or sad noise required at any moment by the text. And Britten is not averse to borrowing a good dramatic idea even from a source as esoteric as Berg's *Altenberg Lieder*; thus a "drone" chord (in fact, very close to Berg's chord in Berg's registration) is sustained through an entire texture of fluctuating density in the tenor solo, "It seemed that out of battle I escaped," as a signal of eternity. Perhaps such an adaptation, in which the bare "idea" of the original is presented without its encumbering subtleties, is a reasonable means of transmitting some of the qualities of an urgent twentieth-century classic to the general audience; but it was curious to reflect that most of those who found Britten's passage so remarkably original and effective will probably never hear, or even hear of, the Berg original.

But the best connoisseur's game in the *War Requiem* is the series of direct allusions to the famous Requiems of the literature, as well as to such contemporary "war" pieces as *Histoire du Soldat* and *Alexander Nevsky*. These are often matched textual section for section, even using the original pitches, but always ingeniously worked into the "motivic" scheme of the whole. Thus one hears Berlioz's *Requiem* in the legato-staccato opposition of the opening, in the *Dies Irae* with its Gregorian parody and opposing brass choirs, and the shimmering high-register orchestration and vocalism of the *Sanctus*. The *Hosanna* sounds like a collage of interstitial patches from Berlioz's *Hosanna*. The bass of the *Confutatis maledictis* is precisely the same as

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the ostinato bass figure in the Mozart *Requiem*, and the *Lacrymosa* has the prosody of its counterpart in Mozart, and the Mozart melodic curve in inversion, while the texture and harmony are like the middle section of Berlioz's *Lacrymosa*. Even Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* appears, in the Hindemith fugue in the Offertorium, and the final chorus is so closely modeled on the *Dona nobis pacem* of Bach's *B Minor Mass*, with the same curve, rhythm, layering of choral entrances, and even the same use of trumpet and tympani, that the words (here *Recquiescant in pace*) seem incongruous. A subtler way of evoking a familiar response is the characteristic use of Baroque-like word-painting, which in Bach was a convenient way of giving the surface of his music a semblance of accessibility that shielded the complexities within; Britten's use of it here to engender such an imputation is thus a curious and precise reversal of function.

Britten's consummate professionalism is perhaps most admirable in the way the *Requiem* builds to all the right kinds of climaxes, resourcefully holding enough in reserve to insure that sufficient volume is available to make the last climax the "culmination"; this, too, requires a superb orchestral and choral know-how that also remembers the conventional "characters" of individual instruments. And the prime requisite of such pieces, that they be capable of giving the large audiences the impression of being "in" on something great and important, is admirably accomplished by Britten in the simplicity and directness with which everything is presented, so that even the "esoterica" come from the best-known places in the best-known pieces (which Stravinsky did in quite another way by quoting the *Barber of Seville* Overture in *Jeu de Cartes*, but then quickly overmastering the original), and the "complex polyphony," "motivic development" and "cyclic recurrence" are calculated to give a warm sense of superiority to anyone who has attended a music-appreciation class. On the other hand, the *War Requiem*'s obtrusive message of profundity, the broadness and familiarity of most of its strokes, and the sense of great overextension that one gets during the last third, where Britten ran out of fresh patterns, make it rather less diverting than Britten's frankly theatrical pieces, where the visual distractions and plot lines tempt him to dare more intricate "inside" fun.

As far as the performance was concerned, the *Requiem* obviously fulfills the requirement of all such potential repertory pieces, that their effects remain effective even when performed by a semi-professional orchestra and chorus while lying on their backs. Sitting up, the very professional Boston Symphony, with the aid of the Boston Pro Musica Chorus, the Princeton Columbus Boychoir and vocal soloists Phyllis Curtin, Nicholas DiVirgilio, and Tom Krause, did it so superbly as to obviate any extreme urgency of further performances in this vicinity.

RECENT BRITTEN RECORDS

Cantata Academica (and other choral works). London-Oiseau-Lyre. 50206 (mono), 60037 (stereo).

Noye's Fludde. London. 5697 (mono), 25331 (stereo).

Serenade for tenor, horn, strings. London. 5358 (mono).

Spring Symphony. London. 5612 (mono), 25242 (stereo).

Turn of the Screw. London. 4219 (mono).

War Requiem. London. 4255 (mono), 1255 (stereo).

ART

Max Kozloff

Wandering up and down the ramp of the Francis Bacon exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, on a sunny afternoon, is a grisly experience. The joys of painting, the presence of a brilliant mind, are not enough to dispel one's morbid embarrassment, as if one had been caught, and had caught oneself, smiling at a hanging.

If these canvases are so frequently about guilt, and unerringly the guilt of aberration and cruelty, they are also confessional. Admitting crime, and probably madness, they intimidate precisely because they are so candid. What I have in common with this English artist, Bacon, what his other spectators have, varies; but anyone, when he leaves this exhibition, will share, I think, a darker and more dreadful view of our condition.

Painting has sought in many ways to impose a pessimistic view of life and death upon its audience. Ordinarily far more important than the subject matter, the paint itself acts out, or becomes infected with, an equivalent of the felt emotion: pain, disease, passion. Bacon's paint, too, functions dramatically. But it almost indecently caresses the surface, and apes a preciousness and rarity whose outrage of the tragic sentiment induces a response totally disproportionate to its physical power. His pleasure both compensates for, and justifies, his self-exposure. The paint, indeed, alienates by its freakish narcissism, which is precisely what Bacon wants. In his state of moral lucidity, in which revelation but not judgment is possible, this is his only means of asserting his superiority. Only upon the closest examination does one realize how very gingerly, indeed squeamishly, his paintings are brushed.

But this doesn't happen, or it didn't with me, until the end—when I finally caught up with Bacon's deepest uncomfort. Earlier, I was aware only of his velvety, featherlike white strokes which tickle the navy blue ground, and form an urgent image all in their own time, as an irritant. It is irritating, that is, to be cajoled, wheedled and finally seduced into an enjoyment of a painted scene whose nature connotes only horror or repulsion. Such are his various tableaux of crucifixion, and murder, although his merely voyeuristic glimpses of

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male orgies arouse guilt in this same way.

Behind it all, however, is the most uncanny intuition of art. Bacon's split of consciousness may be involuntary, but it enables him to live vitally in two worlds; to sense what is real, but to feign his sense of it. That I perceive his distance from the horror makes his figment all the more persuasive. If I experienced these intense pictures with the intensity they seem to demand, then I ought to be out of my mind. Rather, what I feel is a sustained illusion of intensity, for *there is a silent covenant between us:* Bacon is not to strain me, and I am not to unmask him. In that manner, the muteness of painting allows his license, while the erected frame of consciousness—the sheer vicariousness of his art—permits me to participate in his emotional sphere more deeply. Painter and spectator build their own climate of belief. Certainly the perception that art is different from life is not exclusive with Bacon. But he is perhaps unique in levering it so *diabolically* into his work.

These ideas came generally to mind, but were transcended by two particular canvases in the exhibit. They are seen side by side, forcing an analogy tellingly anticipated by the director of the exhibition, Lawrence Alloway. In one, on the left, two pink nude bodies, clenched together off to the left margin, sink rapturously into the grass of an indoor hothouse. Above (not beneath), the black blue void of stained canvas is relieved only by spectral white strokes suggesting a grid, or bars ("Study for the Human Figure," 1954). In the other work, two naked men are sprawled on a bed, one in a grotesque, slipping crouch above the other. Their cadaverous white flesh is set off by the dazzling white sheets. Behind, is the same profound blue, pierced by luminous lines that indicate a room. And suspended in the atmosphere are faint, vertical striations of light that penetrate the figures and smear their faces and limbs ("Two Figures," 1953).

Like so many of Bacon's things, these pictures have in common their restricted range of color, their deadpan, muffled flatness of surface, and the powdery, fragile stroking of the imagery. In addition, the subjects are set off by contrasted zones of light and dark, much as if they were jewels on a black cloth platform. There is no source of illumination other than the dead light which, however, emanates fiercely from the protagonists themselves. Finally, the images are in frantic, yet only barely decipherable, bled out, motion.

But immediately after this, the differences assert themselves. For one thing, movement in the former painting is optically perceived and transcribed, by a concatenation of blots and swishes in the writhing bundle of flesh, and by rhythmic drooping flicks in the vegetation. One sees the movement before quite interpreting what it is that moves. It is like a squirrel in high grass, a kind of inspired pussyfooting in paint. In any event, I feel myself, like Bacon, outside, looking in, past the erotic blur, upon an actual incident. All this crumbles in the other picture, which is at once much more explicit and less real. Here, the vibration of contours, a runny film over the hyenalike faces, is a free act of the mind. Bacon is in there somewhere, pretending blindness, but with his senses wide open to the tactile and glandular fantasy. And willy-nilly, nightmarishly, I am emotionally subpoenaed to follow him.

As in an old dream, however, there is something familiar about this hallucinated world. I am not in a dark room at all, but, it seems, looking at a photographic negative. The white on black has a context which reverses the shadows and makes the modeling meaningless. Unfortunately, though, or perhaps ingeniously, Bacon returns much of the latent chiaroscuro relationship to normal, and thus flusters the new expectation that he alone has set up. Besides, the catalogue has already informed me that the source for this picture comes from the late nineteenth-century photographic studies of men in motion by Eadweard Muybridge. And as if this weren't baffling enough, it is difficult to escape the impression that the painting itself, with its only two values which are nevertheless so chromatic, is like a color photograph of a black and white. Insinuated, then, into this airless pictorial vision, are the reflecting and impinging echoes of the camera lens.

It is not perhaps farfetched to think of these photographic references as credentials for the violent world Bacon explores. In the "Two Figures" they lend a spurious actuality, as it were, to a real fiction. But above all, in view of the monstrousness of what he is showing, they introduce an impersonal documentary note that re-establishes the observer's distance from the image.

In the end, I feel much closer to the "Study for the Human Figure," chiefly because it stimulates the observed, and places me in some tangible relationship with the event, no matter how glamorous and shivery in itself. Its companion, on the other hand, overwhelms the emotions, and then careens like a hit-and-run driver into the vacuum of a tabloid flash. The picture I prefer yields itself slowly, bit by bit in time; the other goes off in an instantaneous florescence. After a certain point, however, the major sensation in both is of a hairbreadth escape from chaos. "He paints," as one critic put it, "from a sense of the impossible, as though he were driving flat out into the dark," and then goes on to speak of this as being linked to certain obsessive targets, rather than as being, in any sense, a lyrical response to the creative act. Behind the luxury, therefore, is an extreme anxiety, not even concerning the subject, but about bringing the picture itself into existence. Whether one is deflected from this to the nightmare, or back, however, Bacon loses—that is, he wins.

Next week I want to discuss broader issues raised by this painter.

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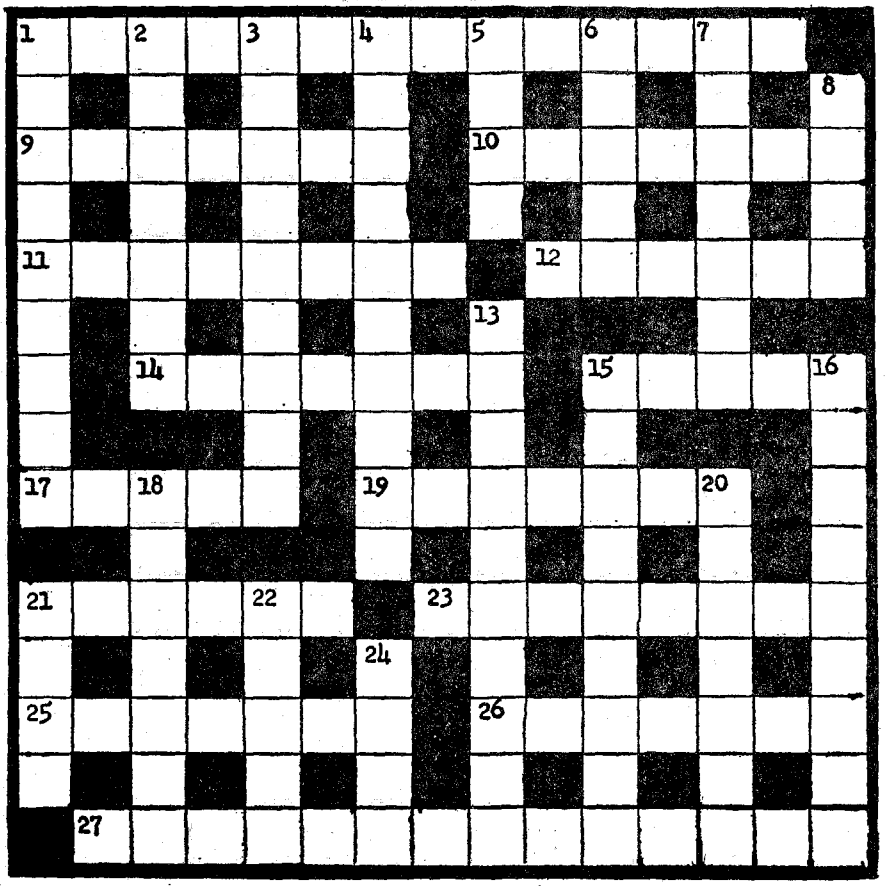

ACROSS:

1 Wood product with two domestic models that suggest an older foreign style. (8, 6)
9 Make a big thing out of the general confusion? (7)
10 Virgil associated with a rise of Mercury. (7)
11 One might consider it Apache herb mixture. (8)
12 Gives the edge to reverses in athletic endeavors. (6)
14 Well-pleasing muse. (7)
15 and 21 down Not the tuning type that one holds in 1 across. (9)
17 How the way, though hard, may be prepared. (5)
19 Things that do are concluded at length. (Neither side is prominently presented.) (7)
21 Wall of presently unproductive construction. (6)
23 The way to confuse an order to be out of control? (8)
25 Might be useful in the kitchen if the religious teacher doesn't get an ounce in return! (7)
26 Are they reputedly found right under vessels? (7)
27 Forbode strange behavior for the officials of some universities. (5, 2, 7)

DOWN:

1 The poem an old Egyptian composed. (9)
2 The intervention of a satellite caused one recently. (7)
3 Behaved rashly? (9)
4 The place in church where the last word comes first, as in 1 down. (4, 6)
5 Should we keep silent after being subjected to such jokes? (4)
6 Dickensian character of the dance?
7 North is not the right way, briefly! (2, 5)
8 A most unusual beginning for a prophet. (4)
13 At heart, not a lively description, though it's hard to get off it sometimes. (4, 6)
15 Conditional implication of what the bread-winner should be doing.
16 A dress the dentist and the barber use, if properly designed. (9)
18 Ante up, it might be. (7)
20 Sea creature, dug up and gone wrong. (7)
22 This burn might have been fatal for some a long time ago. (5)
24 A bloody mess, therefore? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1031

ACROSS: 1 Deterrent; 6 Tutor; 9 Reading; 10 Reeling; 11 and 23 Denmark; 12 Run-off; 15 Surfaces; 16 Purser; 18 Ouster; 20 Trumpery; 24 and 25 Black spot; 28 Onerous; 29 Stipend; 30 and 6 down Royalties; 31 Alpinists. DOWN: 1 and 13 Daredevil; 2 Trainer; 3 Railroaded; 4 Engineer; 5 Thrift; 7 Thieves; 8 Regularly; 14 Submission; 15 Storm door; 17 Cracks up; 19 Surgery; 21 Express; 22 Plasma; 26 Tides; 27 Goal.

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